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ABSTRACT

Conducted in response to the 7% increase in black female single-parent families during 1970 to 1975, this project systematically investigates the impact of parent-absence on the socialization of black children. Divided into four separate studies, the project concentrates on (1) community-social variables related to black parent-absent families; (2) perceptions by black female prisoners of the effects of separation from their children; (3) children's age at onset and duration of separation as they relate to father-absent children's performance on cognitive tasks; and (4) the effects of labor and employment on the female head-of-household. The introductory section of this report provides a rationale for the study, lists the overall goals of the study, examines relevant questions, and depicts the organizational structure of the project. The second section presents a theoretical overview, while the third, fourth, and fifth sections include discussions of the methodology, data collection, and analysis, respectively. The four studies are briefly reviewed in the sixth section. In the seventh section, the relationship of the four studies to the theoretical framework is considered. Dissemination and utilization activities are reported in the eighth section. The final section presents conclusions and proposes recommendations. Related materials, including interviewer's observation forms, are appended. Also appended are detailed reports of each of the project studies. (Author/RH)

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Parent Imprisonment And Child Socialization

RESEARCH PROJECT

FINAL REPORT

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As is customary, I absolve the above-named persons of any responsibility for errors and omissions in the study. Those are reserved for the author. The findings in this report are not to be construed as an official position of the U.S. Office of Human Development or Howard University unless so designated by other authorized documents.

James E. Savage, Jr., Ph.D.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In 1978, 2,546,000 Black families were headed by a single-parent. Of these families, 269,000 were male-headed and 2,277,000 were female-headed. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1978). However, in 1978, 7,106,000 white families were headed by a single-parent. Of these families, 1,278,000 were male-headed and 5,828,000 were female-headed. However, Black single-parent families represent a significantly larger percentage of all Black families than is found for white single-parent families. At the same time, women who maintained families in 1978 were more likely to be divorced or never married and more often were found to be Black.

There appears to be an increase in the percentage of Black female single-parent families since 1970 (from 28.3% in 1970 to 35.3% in 1975). It is speculated that by 1980, the majority of Black families may be headed by a female (Staples, 1974a). By comparison, the trend for Black male single-parent families does not suggest consistent increases. With reference to white female single-parent families there also appears to be an increase in the percentage of their incidence since 1970 (from 9.1% in 1970 to 10.5% in 1975). However, the trend for white male single-parent families does not suggest consistent increases.

In summary, the total number of white single-parent families exceeds that of Black single-parent families. However, this is not the case proportionally. Black single-parent families constitute 39.2% of all Black families whereas white single-

parent families comprise only 13.3% of all white families. The difference in racial proportions suggest that some factors are affecting Black families differently than white families. This situation warrants further investigation through refined conceptual and empirical analysis. This study attempts to address itself to this problem.

For the District of Columbia in 1970, 25,000 Black families were headed by a single parent. Of these families, 2,500 were male-headed and 22,500 were female-headed, representing 2% and 18% respectively of all Black families in the District of Columbia (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1974b). For 1970, approximately 1,700 white families in the District of Columbia were headed by a single parent. Of these, 250 were male-headed and approximately 1,450 were female-headed, representing 6% and 4% respectively of all white families. The Census seems to suggest that of the single-parent families, there is a significantly larger number that are female-headed rather than male-headed in the District of Columbia. The present study focused on the incidence of single-parent families locally to examine the longitudinal effects of separation on the children.

A. Rationale for the Study

In recent years there has been a proliferation of research focusing on the institutionalized in the prison system: their cultural background, their treatment and their rehabilitation. However, there has been little systematic investigation of the

impact of parent-imprisonment on the socialization of Black children. Imprisonment does not have isolated effects but impacts the entire family. The prison wall can never be a barricade to the emotional ties between the imprisoned parent, the spouse, and the children. Probably for Black families, the sense of isolation from their loved ones in the prison world is greater than the isolation these loved ones feel from the world outside.

The families of prisoners suffer debilitating effects--economic and psychological--which stem from situations which they themselves have not, for the most part, brought about. But more than that, every stress suffered by these families weakens them by increasing the isolation of children from adults and by increasing the social pressures that downgrade the role of parents and the functions of parenthood. Furthermore, it is widely acceptable knowledge that families are very crucial to children's socialization.

The research undertaken by the investigators in the District of Columbia was stimulated by the need to document the nature and extent of the effects of parental incarceration on the child and the family unit. The child of the "normal" family (i.e., the family having no problems with the prison system) experiences fewer problems in getting the positive reinforcement of society, which is often not the case for the child in a family with a parent incarcerated. The social pressures coupled with the

economic losses and the absence of a parent place the child in a precarious predicament. This means that the socialization process in such families may be altered and may have irreversible effects on the social and psychological adjustment of the child.

When a parent is removed from the family and institutionalized, the effect on the lives of all members of the family unit might be assumed to be rather severe. This is, however, speculative and this study attempted to establish whether this was actually the case and the degree and manner in which different types of families were affected.

The forces of disorganization arise not from within the family itself but from the circumstances in which the family finds itself and the ways in which these circumstances impact upon it. The Black family as a viable social unit has weathered some awesome challenges throughout its history in the American social system. From the imposition of slavery, which separated Black men, women and children from each other, through the emancipation of slaves, and up to the present day, the Black family has had to confront these challenges. Moreover, the extended family members, such as aunts, uncles, cousins and grandparents, residing in the same house or in close physical proximity have probably been vital to the survival of the Black family. Clearly the Black family has had at its disposal some major strengths that

have been ignored by social scientists. Too often the Black family and its members have been viewed on the basis of their weaknesses and not on the basis of their many strengths. Similarly, enough attention has not been given to the negative societal forces impacting on the Black family.

Need to Study Black Single-Parent Family Phenomenon

Single-parent families, irrespective of race, have been an object of a great deal of concern and research by child development specialists, other behavioral scientists, social planners, and the general community (Billingsley, 1968; English, 1974; Herzog and Sudia, 1973; Staples, 1973, 1974a; Sussman and Cogswell, 1972; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1974b; U.S. News and World Report, 1973; U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth, 1973).

Clinical writings, empirical investigations, and theoretical perspectives on single-parent families have yielded divergent views of the effects on children who are reared in these families. The assumption that single-parent families inherently breed pathological conditions which have negative effects on children has been challenged empirically and conceptually (Billingsley, 1968; English, 1974; Herzog and Sudia, 1973; Hill, 1972; Jackson, 1971, 1973; Ladner, 1974; Sillen and Thomas, 1972; Staples 1974a). Much of the controversy regarding single-parent families centers around faulty and questionable conceptualizations and methodological issues in the research. Moreover, male

single-parent families have been largely excluded from research considerations, even though census data suggests an increase in this type of family situation.

Many investigators have begun to consider concomitant variables that are associated with the single-parent family lifestyle. For example, these variables are poor socioeconomic conditions and community attitudes and support for single-parent families (Burgess, 1970, Herzog and Sudia, 1973; Jackson, 1973; Ladner, 1972; Schlesinger, 1970; Thompson, 1971).

Single-parent families irrespective of race deviate from the two-parent statistical and social norm. Therefore, societal institutions treat them as though they are malfunctioning families and they are stigmatized for deviating from the "norm." With such negative attitudes of societal institutions as well as the general community, the quality of services provided to meet the needs of single-parent families is questionable (Ladner, 1974; Herzog and Sudia, 1973; Staples, 1973).

This issue becomes critically important for Black single-parent families who may not receive adequate support, not only because they are single-parent families, but because they are Black families in a society which discriminates against Black people in general. Most societal systems seem incapable of alleviating the pressures that impinge upon adequate functioning of Black families. For example, the welfare system rewards the

family for breaking up rather than remaining together. Also, stigma results from self-fulfilling prophecies of teachers and the condescending attitudes of neighbors and friends of single-parent family members. As a result, some children of single-parent homes may find themselves either playing with their siblings or by themselves.

Society has a responsibility to provide the same support for Black single-parent families that it provides for other families. There should be comprehensive programs that provide all sectors of the community with social services and other resources. For example, the provision of adequate programs such as day care, recreation, and food stamps would improve family cohesion and reduce family stress and pressure.

The present study attempted to highlight the need for more community-based social service support. By assessing the sample population's knowledge of the availability of community resources that they may or may not have been aware of, this investigation served as a means of determining the need for more family-oriented social service agencies backed by community support.

There were also several other reasons for studying the Black single-parent family: (1) trends in recent Census data suggest an increase among Black single-parent families; (2) research results are inconsistent and controversial regarding how children are affected in such families; and (3) there has been a failure

to consider the effects of relevant intervening variables such as socioeconomic-status (SES), race, community attitudes and support.

Since the Black single-parent family is a relevant issue to the Black community, it is imperative that studies be conducted by Black researchers who most likely are closer to the Black experience. Staples (1974a) states:

> "the control of Black family studies is now in the hands of those whose destiny is affected by the nature of what we choose to investigate and the problems that seek solutions," (p.76).

This means that some Black researchers have been able to become the directors of research that deal with Black family life. They are in positions to conduct research relevant to the Black community.

White standards of behavior, including theories and models of human development, are often inappropriate for explaining the behavior of Blacks. Black researchers are usually aware of the culture-specific factors that affect Blacks within their environment. Therefore, studies conducted by Black researchers are more reliable estimates of the Black experience.

This project focused on the impact of parent-imprisonment on the socialization of the child. It studies the child's locus of control, self-concept, attitudes toward parents, academic achievement, and general interest. These traits were expected to vary as a function of the removal of the parent and have

implications for the degree of adjustment of the child within the family unit. Income maintenance, role structure in the family unit, disciplinary strategies, family cohesion, and involvement of relatives in family functions were other variables investigated.

B. Overall Goals of the Study

The following were the goals for the study of parent-absent families, that is, where the absence of a parent was due to imprisonment, desertion, legal separation, divorce, and death:

1. To study the economic, social and psychological adjustment and support.
2. To examine the social services currently available and utilized.
3. To evaluate child socialization variables (i.e., self-concept, parent-child interactions, and academic achievement).

This approach advanced the general postulate that socio-cultural forces hold good or ill potentialities for children of parent-absent families. It rested on a general logic of situation-response evidence and inference. With the family unit as the focus, research variables were on a continuum with the community-social system at one end and patterns of intrafamily functioning at the other.

C. Relevant Questions

The following questions were posited for the study:

1. How do parent-absent families perceive various social systems that impact upon them?
2. How do the adjustive mechanisms of the child respond to family stresses resulting from parent-absence?
3. How are parent-child relationships affected by parent-absence?
4. How does the nature of the family contacts during the period of separation affect parent-child relationships and the social, psychological and educational adjustment of the child?
5. How does the separation of a parent affect the child's self-concept?
6. How do Black female prisoners perceive the effects of incarceration on their children who are left in the care of guardians?
7. How do the perceptions of imprisoned parents differ from other parent-absent families?

The family as a unit of analysis was investigated in terms of the following variables:

1. Role of parent in income maintenance modification;
2. Role flexibility in the family unit;
3. Disciplinary strategies;
4. Family cohesion;
5. Involvement of relatives in family functions.

D. Organizational Structure

The administrative structure of the project was formulated to include an advisory Board, a project director, two senior research associates, a research associate, a secretary, and a support staff composed of graduate research assistants (See organizational chart Figure 1).

Advisory Board. This board was composed of community supporters who, because of their positions in community agencies and/or past experiences with the social agencies, provided support and counsel to the project staff at all levels. These members represented the D.C. Government, D.C. Department of Corrections, D.C. Department of Human Resources, Black Child Development Institute, D.C. Public School System, the inmate population of Lorton, the Women's Detention Center, Bonabond, Inc., Efforts from Ex-Convicts, and other key community persons (see Appendix 1). Some of the specific functions of the Advisory Board included, but were not limited to the following:

1. Helped establish a bond between project personnel and families in the community.
2. Monitored research plans affecting the families utilized in the study.
3. Served as a "self-imposed conscience" operating in the best interest of the community protecting the integrity of the research population.

4. Gave advice and made recommendations on all major activities concerning the project.
5. Reviewed and provided feedback on progress of the project.

The Project Director. The Project Director managed and controlled the overall activities of the project. In addition, he chaired the family unit variable task force; supervised the report coordination committee; advised the data collection and analysis task force; and disseminated information to the media and professional organizations.

The Senior Research Associates. The Senior Research Associates supervised the activities required for identifying and maintaining contact with sample respondents; assisted in the orientation and training of research staff; developed reliable and valid research instruments for the project; supervised the family and children variable task forces; and served on the report coordination task force.

The Research Associate. The Research Associate assisted in the design of research instruments; supervised the collection of research data; prepared schedules for the collection of data; monitored the daily assignments of research assistants; developed a procedure for coding and processing the data collected; coordinated raw data and checked key punch operations for compliance with specifications and accuracy; developed computer programs to meet the needs of the research project; inter-

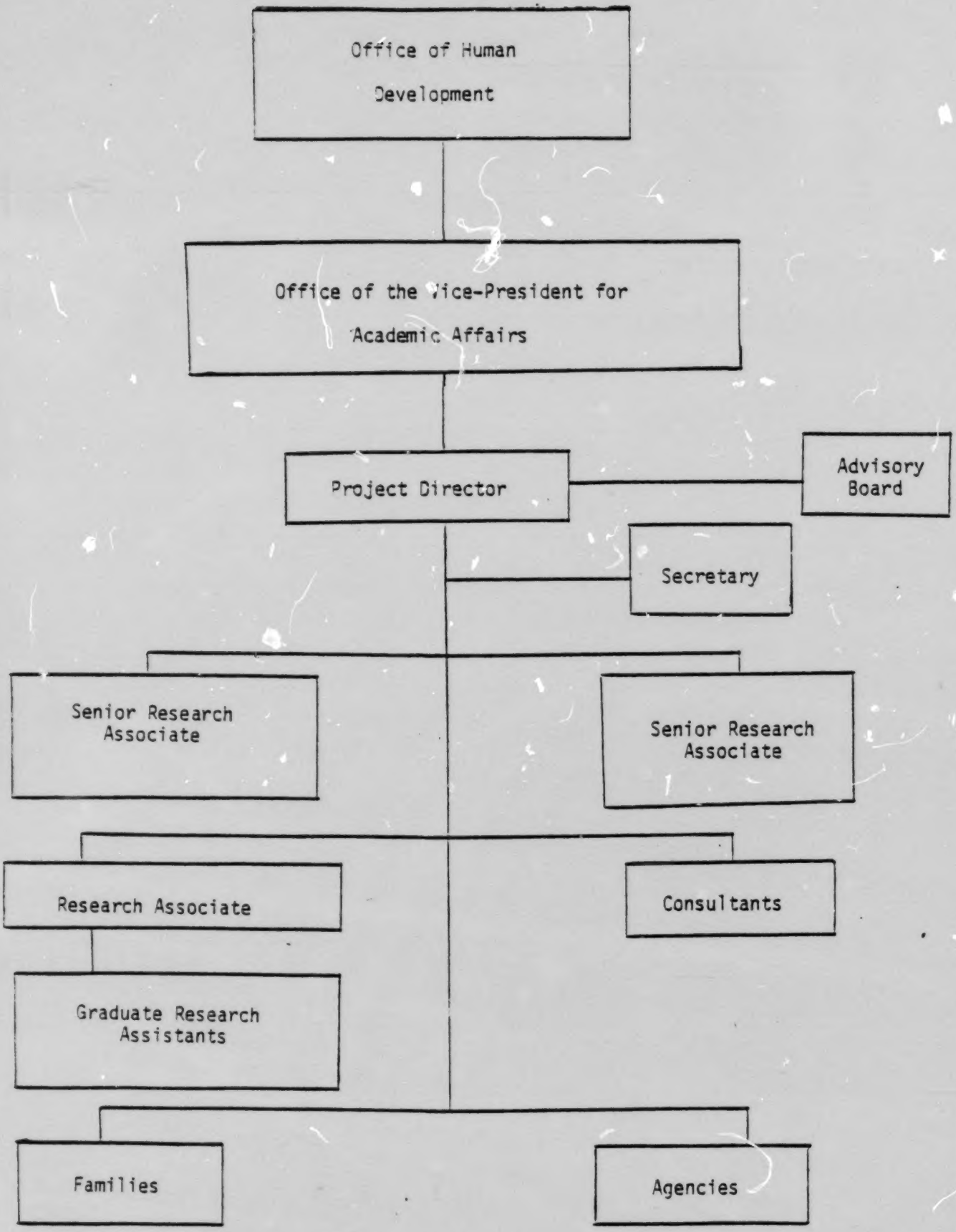

Figure 1. Organizational Structure of the Project

preted statistical output; evaluated data analysis, and wrote comprehensive reports on the results.

The Secretary. The secretary was responsible for all typing activities, including letters, special reports, handling all telephone activities including telegrams and cable information, and incoming calls; receiving all visitors for senior project staff; coordinating report production; following-up financial matters of graduate assistants; keeping a record of appointments for senior staff members and generally functioning in the capacity of an executive secretary.

Graduate Research Assistants. The Graduate Research Assistants perused all information retrieval systems located at various agencies and libraries; assisted in the identification process of sample respondents; administered test instruments to research sample parents and children; interviewed the sample population; and developed working papers germane to experimental variables.

II. THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

The theoretical framework for this investigation related to the way that the child's personality is influenced by intrapersonal factors and interpersonal interactions within the family context and the community. A modified version of Rosenfeld and Rosenstein's theory (1973) was utilized. They theorized that interpersonal as well as intrapersonal dynamics affect the adequate functioning of the parent-absent family and are amenable to empirical investigation. The modification of their theory consisted of adding an extrapersonal dimension based on systems theory.

In order to arrive at valid generalizations about the nature and effects of parent-absence, the conceptual framework was developed to permit comparisons between a parent whose absence was due to incarceration and the parent whose absence was due to divorce, death, desertion or legal separation. Parent-absence which resulted from dissolution of a common-law marriage was also included. Common-law marriage is defined by the Census Bureau as "two parties that mutually consent to live with each other" (cf. Hoage v. Murch Brothers Construction Company, 1931; Matthews v. Briton, 1962).

The parent-absent family is defined as one whose nuclear structure is maintained by one parent who remains in the home while the other is absent, either permanently or temporarily. It is realized that the absent parent is generally the father,

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The parent-absent family is defined as one whose nuclear structure is maintained by one parent who remains in the home while the other is absent, either permanently or temporarily.

It is realized that the absent parent is generally the father, however, the more inclusive term "parent-absent" is used to include those less frequent cases in which the family structure is maintained by the father in the absence of the mother.

Parent-absent families headed by males were included in the experimental design. Very few studies have examined the effects of mother-absence on the socialization of the children. Present judicial trends, as in the case of divorce, where fathers are gaining custody of their children, lend support to the inclusion of this variable. Another special case is the family structure that is maintained by the father or a guardian when the mother is in jail.

It is extremely useful to identify variables associated with parent's absence from the family so that a better understanding of the meaning of absence and its effects can be assessed. As has been shown by other researchers (Rosenfeld and Rosenstein, 1973), a parent's absence has two major dimensions: its precipitative cause, and its degree. The precipitating cause refers to the circumstances that brought about the absence, and the degree of absence refers primarily to the amount or extent of the parent's absence.

Parental absence is connected with familial disruption as in the case of divorce and separation. Here the kind of disruption in the family network often creates a situation wherein the parent who leaves maintains only limited contact with, and some responsibility for, the family, particularly in relation

to the children. Extreme cases would be total absence, such as desertion and death. Another extreme case is the parent who is imprisoned. In this case there is the additional burden of social stigma. Although a parent is absent from the home, he may remain a family member functionally, because the family assumes that eventually he will return home.

In this study five basic elements were used to investigate the degree of absence with precision. They are:

1. Which parent is absent.
2. Duration of absence: short, prolonged, permanent.
3. Frequency of absence: irregular intervals, permanent.
4. Amount of contact with absent parent: frequent, infrequent, or never.
5. Kind of contact during absence: ranging from in-person contacts (e.g. visits, telephone calls) to not in-person contacts (e.g. by mail).

Such profiles of parent absence facilitated interfamilial comparisons and made it possible to ascertain which kinds of absences were related to which effects, that is, the consequences of the parent's absence for the family as a unit, as well as for the individual, and the relationships between family members.

It was assumed that parent-absent families would differ considerably from each other. The differences were expected to occur in two areas. The first area related to characteristics of the family and its members which were transitory and highly

susceptible to change: immediate social, economic, or emotional conditions; problems and strains; general adjustment; self-concept anxiety level of the child; and disciplinary strategies adopted by the family unit.

The second area related to characteristics which were usually enduring and quite stable. It was at this point that the researchers looked for coping mechanisms that were functional for the family and its members. An examination in this area has resulted in vital data on the following:

1. Role structures in the family unit.
2. Family cohesion.
3. Parent-child relationships.

The conceptual model utilized in this investigation is outlined in Table 1.

TABLE 1

A CONCEPTUAL PARADIGM FOR THE PARENT IMPRISONMENT STUDY

I. Precipitating Cause
   - A. Parental Absence Due to Imprisonment
   - B. Parental Absence Due to Separation
     1. Death
     2. Divorce
     3. Separation

II. The Missing Parent
   - A. Mother
   - B. Father

III. Duration of Time Absent
   - A. Prolonged
   - B. Permanent

IV. Frequency of Absences
   - A. One Time
   - B. More than one time

V. Amount of Contact with Absent Parent
   - A. Frequently
   - B. Infrequently
   - C. None

VI. Type of Contact
   - A. In-Person (visits, phone calls)
   - B. Not-in Person (by Mail)

TABLE I (continued)

A CONCEPTUAL PARADIGM FOR THE PARENT IMPRISONMENT STUDY

VII. The Family

- A. The Family Unit
- B. Individual Members
- C. Extended Members
- D. Augmented Members

VIII. Transient Characteristics

- A. Everyday Life
  - 1. Economic
  - 2. Relationships
    - a. Intrapersonal
    - b. Interpersonal
  - 3. Personality Development
- B. Enduring Characteristics
  - 1. Family Structure and Function
  - 2. Patterns of Communication
  - 3. Psychological Make-up
  - 4. Family Cohesion

III. METHODOLOGY

A. Research Design

The research design used for this study was cross-sectional and longitudinal. These designs were selected since they offered the advantage of observing behavior occurring at a specific point in time as well as at a series of points over time. For example, it allowed for a comparison of two age groups which began at different foci in time (that is, the first graders used at the beginning of the study were compared two years later with the third graders who started at the same time). This provided relevant information regarding the stability of the measures used and the internal validity of the results of the study.

The general research plan traced the cognitive and emotional development of groups of Black children through three years of schooling to see the effects of the imprisoned mother or father on their academic achievement, self-concept, locus of control, attitudes towards parents and general interests. The same dependent measures were observed for a Black comparative group who had a mother or father absent from the home, but who was not incarcerated, that is, they were divorced, separated, or widowed.

B. Sample

Locating subjects for the study required many person hours. Some prospective respondents were reluctant to be interviewed

because of the sensitive nature of the research topic. Therefore, the project staff and the Advisory Board felt it was important to make a favorable impression upon respondents during the initial contact.

Prospective respondents for the experimental sample were not selected randomly because of the prohibitive cost and time. Instead, respondents were identified through lists of inmates supplied by the D.C. Department of Corrections and by visits to penal institutions in the Washington Metropolitan area. Recruited families were those whose spouses were incarcerated in Lorton, the D.C. Jail, Hagerstown and the Maryland House of Corrections. The following criteria were used to select the experimental group:

1. The inmates were married and had children in the public schools.
2. The inmates had at least three years remaining before parole or release.
3. The inmates were living with their spouses prior to incarceration.

Fifty percent of the respondents for the control group were identified through random sampling procedures until that method became prohibitive. Consequently, several other methods were utilized. For example, a listing of parent-absent households in which a legal or common-law marriage existed and where the parent's absence was due to death, divorce or prolonged

separation was provided by a social service agency. In addition, Public Service Announcements were put on local radio and television stations asking for single-parent participants. Finally, visits were made to local day-care centers from which project personnel recruited parent-absent families.

When the absent-parent families were contacted by project personnel, they were informed of the goals, procedures, and qualifications for the study. They were told that if they qualified, they would be interviewed six times and paid for their participation at the rate of $10 per interview for the first and second interviews, and $15 per interview for the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth interviews.

Appointments were made with qualified families who consented to participate in the study. They were interviewed in their homes. During the initial contact with respondents, two forms were completed. The names, ages, grades, and sex of all the respondents' school-age children were recorded on one of the forms. A selection table was then used to randomly select one of the respondent's children to be interviewed. One side of the consent form/control card was a "statement of consent to be interviewed" which was read and signed by the respondents before beginning the first interview. The respondent's full name, address, home and work phone numbers, code number, the date and reason for each contact with the project office were recorded on the reverse side of the form.

C. Instruments

In order to gather information for the study, a set of questionnaires had to be found that contained culturally-relevant terms which would be understood by all respondents. The contents and wording of already existing questionnaires were found to be irrelevant and/or inappropriate for the proposed respondent group after there had been a pilot test and critiques were made by teachers, parents, and other professionals in the child-development area.

The procedure for pilot testing was as follows: Each of ten graduate research assistants administered a battery of original questionnaires to three school-age children and recorded difficulties and concerns that the children had in comprehending the items in the questionnaires. The research assistants responded to all the concepts in the questionnaires that were initially misinterpreted or otherwise not comprehended by the children. Finally the research assistants substituted more meaningful concepts in place of the original concepts, and then submitted a written report of all revisions made in the questionnaire to the project director.

The revised instruments were refined further by a panel of three elementary school educators in the District of Columbia Public Schools. These experts individually analyzed the instruments for wording and comprehension. The senior project staff then reviewed the written comments with suggested changes

made by the educators for commonalities and discrepancies. Finally, a series of meetings were held with the educators and senior project staff to arrive at a consensus for the revised instruments.

A unique feature of this panel of experts was that each of them had two kindergarten children available to them as they analyzed the questionnaire items. When a panelist was concerned about the vagueness or complexity of an item he/she asked his two examinees to respond to the items and explain their responses. These procedures were used until a consensus was reached on all items.

The end product was a revised and expanded parent interview and a modified battery of psychological tests for children. The revised parent interview for this study was very similar to the parent questionnaire which was utilized by the Educational Testing Service--Head Start Longitudinal Study entitled, "Disadvantaged Children and Their First School Experiences." In both studies, the purpose of the parent interview was to describe the physical and social environment in which the parent and child were living. The questionnaire itself was composed of 362 questions which were grouped in four sections. Section one contained questions about the child and his/her school. Section two was concerned with the parent's knowledge of community resources. In section three, personal data on the family was gathered. Section four was entitled, "Interviewer Observations" and was completed by the interviewers after leaving

respondents' homes. In this section, the interviewer was asked to evaluate respondents' cooperativeness in responding to the other three sections of the interview. (See Appendix 2)

The parent interview was supplemented with a section called "Separation Experiences." It was developed to gather information related to recidivism, family counseling, adult sexual adjustment and attitudes, and feelings toward conjugal visitation privileges. Examples of these questionnaires and tests can be found in Appendix 3.)

The child interview was composed of modified versions of the Piers Harris Self-Concept Test, the Crandall's Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Test, the Nowicki-Strickland Locus of Control Test, the Gough Masculinity-Femininity Scale and the Coopersmith Self-Concept Test. The child interview also contained the Wide Range Achievement Test and a newly developed test of racial self-awareness--the RASA. Sample items and a brief description of each test are presented in Appendix 4.

IV. DATA COLLECTION

A. Selection and Training of Interviewers

The selection of graduate research assistants was based on the skill needs of the project. Therefore, a major effort was made to employ graduate research assistants whose academic majors and/or experiences were related to the criminal justice system and/or the family. Six of the graduate research assistants were specializing in the area of criminal justice, and the others were in cognate areas. One of the positive aspects of this matching of academic training with the project was the mutuality of the benefits for both the students' learning experience and the project.

The training and orientation of staff and graduate research assistants were ongoing activities throughout the project. The training and orientation program, however, was mainly geared to the graduate research assistants who played a vital role in the project. Members of the Advisory Board for the Project and other agencies within and outside of Howard University provided valuable input in developing a systematic training program. Specifically, the training and orientation program was designed to:

1. Thoroughly familiarize the above persons with the reasons, goals, guidelines and operational aspects of the project.

2. Familiarize the graduate research assistants with an overview of relevant components of the criminal justice system.
3. Assist the graduate research assistants in augmenting skills necessary for locating, analyzing, abstracting and synthesizing pertinent information regarding the interactive effects of the family unit and the penal institution as it influences the child's socialization.
4. Train the graduate research assistants in techniques of interviewing.
5. Provide an ongoing feedback mechanism.

When the interviewers were hired, they were administered two tester questionnaires. Tester questionnaire A was a multiple choice reading of 30 questions. Interviewers were given fifteen minutes to complete this test. The mean score of the forty-six interviewers who took the test was 22.28 with a standard deviation of 3.99.

Tester questionnaire B contained some biographical questions about the interviewer, including his/her preferences and biases. Basically, there was an even distribution of males and females who averaged 23 years of age. Thirteen percent of the interviewers were married, 15% of all the interviewers had children and at least 81% of them enjoyed being with young children or had worked with them in the past. Seventy-nine percent

of the interviewers believed in punishing children by spanking or striking them. Ninety percent of the married interviewers had time for family activities and 82% of all the interviewers had spare time for reading and watching television. At least 82% of them enjoyed playing social games but preferred having long conversations with only one or two people at a time. Forty-five percent of the interviewers came from inner-city areas which were 95% Black and 9% from areas which were 95% white.

When asked to respond to statements about minority and disadvantaged students, over 91% of the interviewers believed that it had been scientifically proven that such students were capable of learning as well as middle-class school children given proper instruction. Over ninety-one percent agreed that education could serve as a powerful tool in helping poor people get out of the slums. They disagreed that it was important for pupils to like their teacher in order to learn and although they felt that parental concern about academic performance was important, they did not believe that parents could take over the job of teaching their children themselves. Thirty-two percent of the interviewers believed that Black children would learn better in all-Black schools with all-Black teachers.

Interviewers were trained by project staff members. The number and duration of the training sessions depended upon the speed with which the interviewers became familiar with the minimal competence level for administering the questionnaires.

During the training sessions, interviewers were briefed generally on the goals and procedures of the study. However, they were not told the hypotheses of the study until after they had completed all interviewing. They participated in role-playing exercises to prepare them for any situation they might encounter while interviewing. The interviewers were also given indepth training with the questionnaires, forms, and proper coding methods.

B. Interview Process

Interviews were mostly conducted in teams of two--one male and one female, rarely two females but never two males. One person administered the parent questionnaire and the other person administered the child questionnaire. On few occasions interviewers worked alone so that one person administered both the parent questionnaire and the child test battery.

Interviewers were required to call the project office each day to find out the time for which their interview appointments had been scheduled. Team partners met in the office prior to their interviews to drop off completed interviews from the evening before and to pick up interview packets for the current day. Before interviewers left the office, their interview packets were checked to ensure that all contents were included. Interviewers were also required to check the wall map in the office for the location of their interview sites.

Each interview packet contained:

- an adult questionnaire
- a child test battery
- a consent form/control card
- a selection table
- a reimbursement invoice
- a check if the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, or 6th interview
- a statement of receipt if the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, or 6th interview

Immediately prior to leaving the office, a code number was placed on each control card to insure that confidentiality of the interview was maintained. The interviews were conducted in the respondents' homes and the average interview lasted one hour.

Since the interviews were conducted over a three-year period with the same families, it was very important to maintain good relationships with family members. Therefore, a random sampling of families were contacted periodically to make sure that they were satisfied with the project procedures and interviewer performance.

All interview packets were returned to the project office the following day for evening interviews whether or not they had been completed. Interview packets were returned to the office the same day when the interviews were conducted during the workday. Those packets which were not completed were put into a

file for rescheduling. Each completed interview was checked by two project staff members for legibility and correct coding. If there were errors in the completed questionnaires, they were returned to the respective interviewers for correction. Correctly completed questionnaires were recorded in the master log. The following information was obtained for the first interview only:

a. Name
b. Address
c. Phone number
d. Social Security number
e. Parent-Absent Category (separated, widowed, divorced, incarcerated)
f. Respondent's sex
g. Consent form signed
h. Institutional code.letter
i. Child's sex
j. Interviewing code number
k. Child's grade

The following information was recorded for the first and subsequent interviews:

a. Interviewing team
b. Date interviewed
c. Date reimbursement invoice signed
d. Date interview coded
e. Date in Automated Data Processing
f. Date out of Automated Data Processing

g. Date data run

h. Date data report received

The questionnaires were then sent to Automated Data Processing to be keypunched. After keypunching, the questionnaires and data cards were returned to the office and filed.

V. DATA ANALYSIS

The research design was a multiple time-series and quasi-experimental arrangement, which was analyzed by "screening, contrasting and linking" the data. This referred to three stages for analyzing the data. The first method entailed analyzing (screening) each domain of variables (i.e. academic achievement, locus of control, etc.) within each time frame, discovering the underlying parameters of each domain at each time interval to facilitate the development of a meta-theory which served to generate hypotheses. These hypotheses were tested over the life of the study. This analytical phase also afforded the reduction of the data to a manageable quantity for the study of interaction among the various domains. Traditional multivariate statistical procedures were used to screen and reduce the data.

The second method was the contrasting of the experimental group with the control group to observe differences, if any, on the domains identified by the first method. This gave the researchers information pertaining to divergency and/or convergency of the two groups on the dimensions under study. Standard procedures for testing significant differences were used. This second method also applied for all succeeding steps in the data analysis.

The third and final method was the linking of each time point at which data were screened. This permitted the establish-

ment of relationships among the domains between any two time periods and also across all time intervals to develop a composite picture of what happened to the children on the measured domains as a function of parent absence.

VI. FOUR STUDIES FROM THE PROJECT

The Parental Imprisonment and Child Socialization Project was divided into four separate studies for convenience and in order to abstract more information on a variety of aspects of parent absence.

They are:

A. Community-Social Variables Related to Black Parent-Absent Families

B. Perceptions by Black Female Prisoners of the Effects of Separation from their Children

C. Age at Onset and Duration of Separation as they Relate to Parent-Absent Children's Performance on Cognitive tasks

D. The Effects of Labor and Employment on the Female-Head of House: A Longitudinal Analysis

Summaries of the four studies are presented below:

A. Community-Social Variables Related to Black Parent-Absent Families

Psychological and systemic variables affecting black single-parent families were studied within a theoretical framework. "The Push-Pull Management Theory" was developed, which describes the forces that maintain or impede the functioning of the black parent-absent family. To test this theory, 200 black parent-

absent families divided into five groups (male, incarcarated, separated, divorced and widowed) responded to a series of questionnaires. Significant differences among these groups were observed with respect to their attitudes and feelings about family role structure, family cohesion, and parent-child relationships. The impact of various societal systems was also perceived differently by the parent-absent groups. A detailed report is in Appendix 5.

B. Perceptions by Black Female Prisoners of the Effects of Separation from Their Children

Black female prisoners' perceptions and feelings about separation from their children were examined. A 100-item questionnaire, based on a Transactional Analytical approach, and eight projective pictures from the Separation-Attachment Apperception Test (SAAT) were administered to 60 inmates. Prisoners were residents of either a Federal or a state penal institution. The data revealed that imprisoned mothers perceived themselves as loving, warm, nurturant, and dependent. Communication between mothers, children and guardians was viewed as being present but garbled. Feelings of despair and depression pervaded most stories about the SAAT pictures. Based on these findings, some suggestions for correctional programming were made. For a detailed discussion, see Appendix 6.

C. Age at Onset and Duration of Separation as They Relate to Father-Absent Children's Performance on Cognitive Tasks

The effects of age of the child at father-absence onset and duration of separation were examined. The study assessed the extent that objective components of father-absence, such as child's age at the onset and duration of separation served as predictors of subsequent cognitive performance. Also studied was the degree to which subjective components such as the child's assumed responsibility for success and failure in achievement-related situations served as predictors of subsequent cognitive performance. One hundred and twenty-one children from father-absent families participated in the study. Those children who accepted responsibility for failure showed less decompensation of cognitive performance than children who did not accept responsibility for failure. Also, children who were separated earlier and longer showed decompensation in cognitive abilities. A detailed report is in Appendix 7.

D. The Effects of Labor and Employment on the Female-Head of Household: A Longitudinal Analysis

This study sought to determine the interrelationships among the variables of types of single parent families, maternal employment, and child's socialization patterns. The unemployment/employment status of the sample was assessed to determine knowledge of availability of supplementary child-care facilities

coupled with such factors as community involvement and absent-spouse status. The data revealed that for all types of separated single-parent families, the spouses of incarcerated males experienced most difficulty. The present study also revealed more pronounced effects of single-parenthood on the children involved. There were decrements/increments in measures of the child's psychological well-being and social development. For a detailed discussion, see Appendix 8.

VII. RELATIONSHIP OF THE FOUR STUDIES TO THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework was designed to assess the way the personality of the child is influenced by intrapersonal and interpersonal interactions within the family context and the larger society. It also examined the effects of parent-absence due to divorce, death, desertion, and incarceration. Also included were guardians other than the fathers while the mothers were in jail.

Several analyses were carried out on the four studies in order to answer the research questions. The first study "Community-Social Variables Related to Black Parent-Absent Families," pointed out differences across five parent-absent groups. Specifically, there were differences in their attitudes and feelings about family role structure, family cohesion, and parent-child relationship. For example, the majority of respondents indicated that cohesiveness within the nuclear family was either very good or good. However, a significantly greater number of respondents within the separated and divorced groups indicated that there was considerable variability in ideas, values, and interests among family members.

Divorced parents were significantly more negative towards the absent spouse than were other single parents. Parents from

the separated group indicated that they spent considerably less time with their children than parents in other groups. Parents whose spouses were in jail reported using more corporal punishment and taking away their children's privileges than parents in the other groups. Parents from the incarcerated group perceived their children had more difficulties in getting along with their teachers; whereas the male-headed group was significantly more positive about the schools their children were attending and did not use corporal punishment.

Based on the different attitudes and perceptions of these parents experiencing the five types of absences, it is reasonable to expect that the perceptions and behaviors of these parents would influence the children who are being socialized by them. Children's personalities are formed, in large part, through imitation of their parents. Therefore, it may be concluded that since the perceptions of parents in various groups differed, the perceptions of the children from the various groups differed also.

The second study "Perceptions by Black Female Prisoners of the Effects of Separation from their Children," showed how Black female prisoners viewed themselves, perceived their children's and children's guardians' view of them, and the children's and guardians' views of each other. The majority of these women stated that they were warm, loving, nurturant and dependent.

Most of the mothers reported that communication was good between themselves and their children. However, there was difficulty in the interactions with the guardians, specifically, communications were often unclear.

Results from the projective tests revealed that certain feelings were prevalent and common to the majority of these female prisoners. For example, feelings of despair and depression pervaded most stories describing the SAAT pictures. These women projected their future as being difficult, sad, and with a loss of friendship. They also projected numerous instances of family separation and a future dominated by criminality and hopelessness.

These incarcerated mothers communicated different perceptions to their children than the children's guardians. This study is related to the theoretical framework since it is likely that this incongruence in perceptions can influence the personality of the child. Further, these mothers are expected to return home from jail some time in the future. When they do return, they may take with them their percepts and other attitudes and behaviors and these may influence their children. For example, the results of the study showed a great deal of despair and hopelessness in the mothers. It is conceivable that the children would develop feelings of hopelessness and despair also.

The third study "Age at Onset and Duration of Separation as They Relate to Father-Absent Children's Performance on Cogni-

tive Tasks" showed how children were influenced by the family context in which they lived. The study looked at the intrapersonal and interpersonal interactions of the families.

Intrapersonally, children who were able to take blame for failure did not show as much decompensation of cognitive performance as the children who were separated earlier, that is, children who had earlier onset of separation and had a longer duration of separation showed more decompensation in cognitive abilities. These cognitive abilities were measured by arithmetic and reading tests. The two variables, duration and onset, related to the variables in the theoretical framework as they related to the family context. (This may have been related in some way to the mother's perceptions after the separation from the father).

Finally, the fourth study, "The Effects of Labor and Employment on the Female Head of Household: A Longitudinal Analysis" showed how knowledge and availability of supplemental childcare facilities varied according to type of single-parent family. The study demonstrated how the financial situation of the "separated group" made them a more external or other oriented group. There was additional support from this study, as it had been assumed, that parent-absent families differ from each other. Furthermore, the study revealed more pronounced effects of single-parenthood on the children involved, reflecting decrements or increments in measures of the child's psychological well-being and

social development. In addition, the study gave insight into the employment situation of these parent-absent families.

VIII. DISSEMINATION AND UTILIZATION

The data emanating from the project were disseminated at various stages. Progress reports and news releases were disseminated to the media, both locally and nationally, as well as to various organizations. Information concerning the project was circulated in the newspapers, professional journals, and popular magazines. In addition, project staff analyzed the data and presented professional papers at conferences and conventions.

Recipients of the progress reports of this project included:

- Advisory Board Members
- Black Child Development Institute
- Bonabond, Inc.
- Bureau of Rehabilitation
- Chairman, Psychology Department, Howard University
- U.S. Office of Human Development
- Congressional Black Caucus
- D.C. City Council
- D.C. Department of Corrections
- D.C. Department of Human Resources
- D.C. School Board
- Dean, College of Liberal Arts, Howard University
- Dean, Graduate School, Howard University
- Dean, School of Social Work, Howard University

- Efforts for Ex-Convicts
- Federal Bureau of Prisons
- Lorton Inner Voices
- National Child Day Care Association
- National Office of Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
- National Urban League
- Office of the Mayor
- Pride, Inc.
- Rap, Inc.
- Superintendent, D.C. Public Schools
- White House Conference on Children and Youth

Articles published in professional journals, popular magazines, and books are as follows:

- "Development of Culturally Relevant Assessment Systems," The Negro Educational Review, Vol. 28, No. 3 & 4, 1977, and R. Jones (ed.) Black Psychology. New York: Harper and Row, (In Press).
- "Transactional Analysis (Ego States) and the Mental Health of Blacks," in L.A. Ramey (ed.) Issues in Black Mental Health. Southern Regional Educational Board, 1978, pp. 105-126.
- "Jailhouse Mothering - A Review of the Parent Child Imprisonment Project," Psychology Today, December, 1978, pp. 35-36.

- "Community-Social Variables Related to Black Parent-Absent Families," Journal of Marriage and the Family, November, 1978, pp. 779-785.
- "The Black Parent-Absent Family: A Growing Phenomenon," in B.J. Stembridge (ed.) Proceedings of the Child Welfare Policy. Conference. Washington, D.C. Institute for Urban Affairs and Research, Howard University, 1978, pp. 99-112.

The project supported, in part, the following professional presentations which were prepared after the data were analyzed.

- "Self-concept of Black Children 20 Years Hence." Association of Social and Behavioral Scientists, April, 1974.
- "Testing Minorities" Developing Culturally Relevant Assessment Systems," Conference on Empirical Cultural Research in Black Psychology, June, 1974.
- "Assessment and Improvement of Interpersonal Communication," National Council for Black Child Development, July, 1974.
- "Recognizing and Helping the Abused Child and His Family," National Council for Black Child Development, July, 1974.
- "Children of Exclusion," National Council of Black Child Development, June, 1975.
- "The Impact of Separation on Children," National Association for the Education of Young Children," November, 1975.

- "Children of Female Prisoners do the Hardest Time," Black Child Development Institute Annual Conference, November, 1975.
- "Mental Health Needs of Minorities: A National Issue." 23rd Annual Meeting of the D.C. Mental Health Association, May, 1976.
- "Effects of Television on Children's Educational and Social Development," Fourth Annual Conference of the National Council for Black Child Development, June, 19[illegible].
- "Mental Health of Black Families: Transactional Analysis Approach to Theory and Practice," Fifth Annual Conference of National Council for Black Child Development, June, 1977.
- "Mental Health of the Parent-Absent Family," National Urban League Conference on the Black Family, November, 1977.
- "Incarcerated Parents and Their Children", NIMH, October, 1979.

In addition, the following panel discussions and workshop sessions were held:

- Transactional Analysis to the inmates at Lorton Reformatory, Lorton, Virginia.
- "The Black Woman as a Victim of Crime," Anacostia Senior High School, Washington, D.C., April, 1976.

- "Perspectives of Emotional and Mental Health of Black Women," at the Federal City Alumni Chapter of Delta Sigma Theta, Inc., Mental Health Seminar, May, 1976.
- Group Leader in a Family Living Workshop, Baltimore Public Schools, July, 1976.
- "Mental Health Services for Juvenile Offenders in D.C." D.C. Mental Health Association, July, 1977.
- "Female Prisoners' Perceptions of Themselves and Their Children," The Fourth Conference on Empirical Research in Black Psychology, January, 1979.

IX. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Major conclusions and recommendations resulting from this study are presented below for the benefit and use of the sponsor and other agencies.

Conclusions

The following conclusions derive from the survey of black parent-absent families in the Washington Metropolitan area. They reflect a variety of analyses and interpretations of the information provided by these black parent-absent families.

The incidence of single-parent families has risen due to the increasing divorce rate for married couples with children, the rising birth rate among the never married, and a more permissive attitude towards becoming single parents via marital separation. With reference to black families, unemployment, low-income, cultural and social forces have been identified as key factors which threaten the continued existence of the black nuclear family. Also there is less opportunity for many black women to establish a monogamous nuclear family due, in part, to the unavailability of black males because of the high male rates of mortality, incarceration, homosexuality, and interracial marriages.

There were five categories of parent-absent families in the study. That is, the absence of one parent was due to divorce, desertion or separation, death, and incarceration. Parent-absence with the male parent present, was also included, as well

as families where a person other than the male parent was guardian while the mother was incarcerated. The parent-absent families lived in the District of Columbia Metropolitan area. Inmates in Lorton and other penetentiaries were interviewed and gave permission for their spouses to be interviewed.

There were major differences in the attitudes, perceptions, and behavior of the five parent-absent groups. Differences were observed in two major areas: (i) socio-psychological variables affecting parent-absent families, that is, role structures in the family unit, family cohesion, and parent-child relationships; and (ii) the impact of the social systems (legal, educational, economic, health, recreational, religious, and transportation) and their interaction with the family.

Children in the separated group contributed significantly to the financial support of the family. Both this group and the incarcerated group received more financial support from extended family members than any of the other groups. Extended family members seemed to play a significant role in conflict resolution within the incarcerated and separated families than in the widowed and divorced families.

The divorced families were more financially solvent than the others. They were often employed for longer periods of time than others, particularly the incarcerated families. Divorced parents were also significantly more negative towards

the absent spouse than other parent-absent families. Of the parents who go to church, more women with spouses in prison took along their children than any other group. This together with their use of corporal punishment, may have been due to their anxiety about their children's possible entanglement with the legal system and imprisonment.

There were also some similarities across all the groups. Children played an important role in household maintenance activities. Also, the majority of parents in all groups reported cohesiveness within the nuclear family was either very good or good. Most of the families indicated that they visited their family doctor more than any other individual to get advice or help with health-related problems.

Projective tests administered to a group of black female prisoners revealed that certain feelings and perceptions were common to the majority of them. They expressed a great deal of depression and despair regarding their past and present lives; and the future was projected as being even gloomier. They expected family separations and future conflict with the legal system and there were deep feelings of hopelessness.

The majority of incarcerated mothers felt that they had fair to good rapport with their children, though sometimes the relationships were strained. Most of them felt that conjugal visitations should be made mandatory and should be engaged in

frequently. On the whole, the women felt bitter and had low self-esteem. They felt that they had been cheated and that there were no choices open to them.

Most of the mothers believed that community social services offered were inadequate and did not meet their needs. In addition to suffering from the absence of one parent, their children suffered from the added stigma of having an incarcerated parent. Further, when they were discharged from prison, it was difficult to find gainful employment in order to help support their families. They often had to rely on relatives and extended family members to perform some of the family functions.

Recommendations

Societal institutions have not paralleled the changes in family forms. Institutions idealize the two-parent family form and are aimed at enhancing it. Unfortunately, institutions are ill-prepared to provide relevant supportive services to family forms which are different. More policies and intervention programs are needed to aid families who suddenly find themselves with one spouse missing, whether the parent-absence is due to divorce, desertion, death, separation or incarceration. Some current programs may be grouped into three categories: organized family self-help groups, professional family services, and existing and proposed legislation.

Self-help organizations provide mutual support to group members in support of and exerting pressure for intervention services

specifically geared to single-parent families. Parents Without Partners is one self-help organization which helps divorced or separated parents learn how to cope with their new life. The various activities include discussion groups where individuals can get support and advice of others in similar situations who are responsive to the pain and confusion of marital separations and bereavement.

It has been suggested that the general orientation of Parents Without Partners tend to be geared towards white middle-class families. Hence, black single-parent families have formed a similar organization called the Sisterhood of Black Single Mothers which is comprised of women who are raising their children alone (Encore, 1977). Membership is granted to women who are separated, divorced, widowed or whose spouses are incarcerated. The objectives of the organization are: (1) to encourage a positive self-image of the black single mother and instill in her the determination, awareness and strength to rear strong children alone; (2) to provide communication between black single mothers and the people who have direct influence on their lives--social workers, employers, teachers, landlords; (3) to offer limited financial and unlimited moral support to members in need; and (4) to promote a family atmosphere among the membership as they participate in cultural activities.

Service programs typically exist for female single-parent families. The most frequent problem for single-parent families

is financial support for the family. Women who become single parents due to divorce or death experience a sharp drop in income. Sometimes, their economic position is improved by the acquisition of a new spouse, but during the interim they often experience financial hardships. These families run an exceptionally high risk of being poor and currently make up a majority of poor families with children (Ross and Sawhill, 1975).

There is a need to develop opportunities for women to earn an adequate income and to make young women aware of the risks and responsibilities which they are likely to face in their adulthood. Other kinds of social supports are needed such as income maintenance programs. The research literature strongly suggests that it is the kinds of jobs at which women usually work that are the major causes of their relatively low incomes. Occupations in which women traditionally work pay much lower wages than traditional male occupations. Policies are needed to insure that women are accepted in traditional male jobs and that young females are channeled into occupations that pay higher wages.

The lack of employment continuity for some women, which may be due to their family responsibilities, may be a cause for the limited success of women in the job market. Social policy must be sensitive to the transitional nature of sex role expectations within the family. Although increasingly large numbers of women

are working, the men generally are not sharing in the care of the children in a meaningful way. As a result, women must often handle two jobs instead of one, putting them at a competitive disadvantage in the labor market (Ross and Sawhill, 1975).

These factors suggest that day-care facilities, after-school programs, or subsidization of informal child-care arrangements might help women plan for and engage in more continuous employment. However, it must be realized that the availability of daycare is unlikely to improve the economic status of women if there are no decent jobs available. Job opportunities are critical and should be one cornerstone for policy directed to meet the needs of parent-absent families.

As long as mothers have major responsibility for the physical care and custody of children, all fathers should be responsible for supporting the children in or out of marriage. A more equitable and effective system should take into account the income position and child-care responsibilities of each parent. It should not be tied to any particular set of assumptions about these matters and should not be subject to the opinion of individual judicial decisions.

Another issue confronting some single parents and their children is the need for emotional and psychological support, particularly at the onset of separation (Wallerstein and Kelly, 1976). In the case of divorce, most parents are concerned with explaining the separation to children. Some parents find the

task too difficult either out of shame, guilt, or because of misplaced concern for the child. The widespread regressive symptomatic behaviors and fearfulness which were observed in some younger children can be partially attributed to the absence of explanation and assurance of parental support (Wallerstein and Kelly, 1976). Some parents experienced bewilderment, anxiety and pain. Some had conscious and unconscious fears, guilt, and feelings of loneliness and depression (Wallerstein and Kelly, 1976).

Counselors in this project attempted to map out the current situation of each parent, economically and legally, their respective educational and employment histories, their current life plans, expected continuities and change. Further, the counselors attempted to formulate an early impression of the central psychological impact of the divorce experience, especially on the self-esteem and of the defensive and varying coping responses to loss.

A second history taking focused on children in which the parent was asked about the child in the context of the parental conflict, the divorce response, the parent's relationship with the specific child and the parental expectations and plans for the future. Parents were asked about the child's understanding of the divorce, how much the child had shared in the decision-making process and the feelings of the parents, how much he/she

had been a party to fights and to angers. In the third interview, a tentative diagnostic formulation was made to establish priorities in the counseling process. Counselors received a full school report of academic and social performance during the preceding year. With this data it was possible to establish the counseling agenda to help parents and children (Wallerstein and Kelly, 1976).

Services to incarcerated parents and their families have focused primarily on incarcerated mothers. Services for imprisoned fathers seem to be incorporated within existing family counseling services at institutions. With respect to children who have incarcerated fathers, Prisoners Families Anonymous (PFA) in New York, attempts to help children cope with this type of separation.

This organization has provided eight children (ages 8 to 13) with a social worker to run group sessions for children whose parents are members of PFA. In talking to the social worker, children deal with anger at the imprisoned parent for causing the separation, confusion as to the reasons why the parent is incarcerated, attitudes that somehow the child will inherit the father's behavior and subsequently be incarcerated, and strained relations with peers because of the child's incarcerated parent. Aside from group sessions, recreational activities are held for the children and social worker.

Policy recommendations comprise the third area of literature relating to intervention for single-parent families. Sussman (1972) states that most self-help organizations are largely oriented towards adults and are social in nature. A recommenation aimed at this issue is a policy to enable children who need adults to have parents without partners. This would mean developing a genre of eligible adults who could function as members of an "everyday family" (Sussman, 1977). Programs such as "Big Brothers" and "Big Sisters" incorporate this principle to some extent.

Another proposal is the utilization of extended and "everyday" family members as care-givers and socializers. This would suggest providing income to care-giving families for the care of children whose parents are employed. This type of program could operate in conjunction with day-care centers (Sussman, 1977). Finally, it was recommended that there should be universal training for competence in dealing with bureaucracies to survive during and after the divorce.

Staples (1971) suggests that Black female single-parent families can be assisted by having an adequate guaranteed income, governmental commitment to a comprehensive program of child development, a subsidized adoption program and birth control services, including abortion. However, these services

should be organized into a community-controlled comprehensive health program, and any governmental policy to help Black families should recognize the desire of Blacks to control their own community and destiny.

Clay and Kienast (1975) suggest ways that there can be joint relationships between private and public agencies to establish and implement a meaningful service delivery system which would provide comprehensive services to young children and their families.

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APPENDIX 1

PARENTAL IMPRISONMENT AND CHILD SOCIALIZATION PROJECT

ADVISORY BOARD MEMBERS

Mr. William W. Barr (Retired)
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Washington, D.C. 20036

Mr. Quentin Newhouse, Jr.
Graduate Assistant
Psychology Department
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

APPENDIX 2

Name of Measure: Interviewer's Observations

Variables Measured: Home's atmosphere

Grade Level Usage

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Not Applicable

Data Collection Method:

Group Test _____ Interview _____

Individual Test _____ Observation X

Estimated Administration Time (min.): N/A

Brief Statement of Procedure:

Interviewer completes rating sheet after leaving the interview.

Minimum Requirements for the Administrator-Observer:

High school reading level

Sample Items:

Is respondent's house

001 on corner 002 in middle of the block

Does respondent's house have a yard?

001 Yes 002 No

Questions 315-317 rate the respondent on cooperativeness. The degree of cooperativeness is measured for parts I and II of the parent's measure and part III.

345 Part 1? O____
346 Part II? O_____
347 Part III? O_____

Code:
001 Very cooperative
002 Cooperative
003 Slightly cooperative
004 Uncooperative
005 Very uncooperative

777-Don't know 888-Not applicable 999-Refuse to answer

APPENDIX 3

SAMPLE OF PARENT INTERVIEW

Name of Measure: Parent Interview

Variables Measured: Child & School, Community, Personal Data

Grade Level Usage

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Suitable for parents of all reading levels

Data Collection Method:

Group Test _____ Interview X

Individual Test _____ Observation _____

Estimated Administration Time (min.): 90

Brief Statement of Procedure:

Interviewer reads items and records parents' response.

Minimum Requirements for the Administrator-Observer:

High school reading level

Sample Items:

Where does (child's name) usually play?

001 House
002 Yard
003 Street in front of house
004 Other _____
specify

Do you read any magazines?

001 Yes 002 No

Do you plan to move within the next year?

001 Yes 002 No

SAMPLE OF PARENT INTERVIEW (CONT'D.)

How do you think (child's name) feels about the absence of your spouse?

(Read scale to interviewee)

001 Very Happy

002 Happy

003 Neither sad nor happy

004 Sad

005 Very Sad

Have you had any individual, group or family counseling as a result of the effects of separation?

001 Yes

002 No

Conjugal visitation is a good idea to help the inmate stay in contact with his wife and children? (Read scale to interviewee)

001 Definitely true

002 Somewhat true

003 Neither true nor untrue

004 Somewhat untrue

005 Definitely untrue

APPENDIX 4

SAMPLE OF CHILD INTERVIEW

Name of Measure: Modified Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale

Variables Measured: Self-Concept

Grade Level Usage

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Data Collection Method:

Group Test _____ Interview _____

Individual Test X Observation _____

Estimated Administration Time (min.): 8

Brief Statement of Procedure:

The interviewer reads each of 80 "yes/no" questions to testee at a pace slow enough for comprehension and records the testee's response.

Minimum Requirements for the Administrator-Observer:

High school reading level

Supporting Statement:

This test has been found to give an accurate assessment of the self-concept of Black children.

Sample Items:

I get a bad feeling when the teacher calls on me	Yes	No
My friends like the way I do things	Yes	No
They pick me last for games	Yes	No

SAMPLE OF CHILD INTERVIEW (CONT'D.)

Name of Measure: Modified Crandall Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Scale

Variables Measured: Locus of Control

Grade Level Usage

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Data Collection Method:

Group Test _____ Interview _____

Individual Test ___X___ Observation _____

Estimated Administration Time (min.): 10

Brief Statement of Procedure:

The interviewer will read each of 40 forced-choice items to the child and record the response.

Minimum Requirements for the Administrator-Observer:

High school reading level

Supporting Statement:

The scale will enable the researchers to assess the child's locus of control in relation to academic matters.

Sample Items:

You are a teacher, lawyer or doctor. Is it because

001 people like you, or

002 you worked hard?

You taught your friend how to play a game, is it because

001 you told him good, or

002 he already knew?

SAMPLE OF CHILD INTERVIEW (CONT'D.)

Name of Measure: Modified Nowicki-Strickland Personal Reaction Survey

Variables Measured: Locus of Control

Grade Level Usage

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Data Collection Method:

Group Test _____ Interview _____

Individual Test X Observation _____

Estimated Administration Time (min.): 10

Brief Statement of Procedure:

The interviewer reads each of 40 "yes/no" items to testee and records the testee's response

Minimum Requirements for the Administrator-Observer:

High school reading level

Supporting Statement:

This test is one of the locus of control instruments designed specifically for children.

Sample Items:

Making a lot of noise at a game helps a team to win more than good luck? Yes No

Can you change tomorrow by the way you act today? Yes No

SAMPLE OF CHILD INTERVIEW (CONT'D.)

Name of Measure: Modified Gough Masculinity-Femininity Scale

Variables Measured: Masculinity-Femininity

Grade Level Usage

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Data Collection Method:

Group Test _____ Interview _____

Individual Test ___X___ Observation _____

Estimated Administration Time (min.): 6

Brief Statement of Procedure:

Each of 38 "yes/no" questions is read to the testee, and the testee's response is recorded.

Minimum Requirements for the Administrator-Observer:

High school reading level

Supporting Statement:

The present authors have made extensive revision to make this scale more applicable to young Blacks.

Sample Items:

I would like to be a football player	Yes	No
In school I am sometimes sent to the principal's office for getting into trouble.	Yes	No
I would like going to a dress show or just looking at clothes in a window.	Yes	No

SAMPLE OF CHILD INTERVIEW (CONT'D.)

Name of Measure: Modified Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory - Short Form

Variables Measured: Self-Concept

Grade Level Usage

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Data Collection Method:

Group Test _____ Interview _____

Individual Test ___X___ Observation _____

Estimated Administration Time (min.): 5

Brief Statement of Procedure:

Administrator reads 25 "yes/no" items to testee and records testee's response.

Minimum Requirements for the Administrator-Observer:

High school reading level

Supporting Statement:

This scale will enable us to cross validate the Modified Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale.

Sample Items:

I wish I were someone else	Yes	No
My family wants too much from me	Yes	No
People can't count on me	Yes	No

SAMPLE OF CHILD INTERVIEW (CONT'D.)

Name of Measure: Wide Range Achievement Test

Variables Measured: Arithmetic and Reading Achievement

Grade Level Usage

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Data Collection Method:

Group Test _____ Interview _____

Individual Test ____X____ Observation _____

Estimated Administration Time (min.): Varies because of the different math and reading levels of the children.

Brief Statement of Procedure:

The testee is told to work as many arithmetic problems as he can and to read off as many vocabulary words as he recognizes.

Minimum Requirements for the Administrator-Observer:

High school reading and math level.

Sample Items:

$5+1$ $\quad 2\,1+6$ $\quad 84-36$ $\quad 23\times3$ $\quad 31\overline{)6263}$ $\quad (4^2)^3=$ $\quad 10g\ (10v100)=$

eat him animal collapse coercion usurp succinct

SAMPLE OF CHILD INTERVIEW (CONT'D.)

Name of Measure: RASA Racial Self-Concept Scale

Variables Measured:

Grade Level Usage									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Data Collection Method:

Group Test _____ Interview _____

Individual Test X Observation _____

Estimated Administration Time (min.): 5

Brief Statement of Procedure:

Interviewer reads the 9 "yes/no" questions to testee and records responses.

Minimum Requirements for the Administrator-Observer:

High school reading level

Supporting Statement:

This scale will enable the researchers to assess the child's concept of himself as a Black person.

Sample Items:

Do you like to play with Black kids better than white kids? Yes No

Do you like white kids' skin color better than Black kids' skin color? Yes No

APPENDIX 5

COMMUNITY-SOCIAL VARIABLES RELATED TO BLACK PARENT-ABSENT FAMILIES

JAMES E. SAVAGE, JR.
AND
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Single-parent families, irrespective of race, have been an object of a great deal of concern and research by child development specialists, behavioral scientists, social planners, and the general community (Billingsley, 1968; English, 1974; Herzog and Sudia, 1973; Staples, 1973, 1974a; Sussman and Cogswell, 1972; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1974b; U.S. News and World Report, 1973; U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth, 1973). Clinical writings, empirical investigations, and theoretical perspectives on single-parent families have yielded divergent views of the effects on children who are reared in these type of families. The assumption that single-parent families inherently breed pathological conditions which have negative effects on children has been challenged empirically and conceptually (Billingsley, 1968; English, 1974; Herzog and Sudia, 1973; Hill, 1972; Jackson, 1971, 1973; Ladner, 1974; Staples, 1974a, 1974b; Sillen and Thomas, 1972; Rubin, 1978).

Much of the controversy regarding single-parent families centers around faulty or questionable conceptualizations and methodological issues in the research. For example, single-

parent families headed by males have been largely excluded from research considerations. Even theories and models of child development can be misleading when considering black single-parent families because of much emphasis on two-parent constellation. By having similar cultural experiences, Black researchers may be more aware of some salient factors that affect Blacks within their everyday environment.

Push-Pull Management Theory of the Black Single-Parent Family

Need for Theory

Theory-building in the general area of family is still in the embryonic stage. The works of Parsons and Bales (1955), Billingsley (1974) and Staples (1971) encourage researchers to generate literature about the family and the forces that impact upon this core institution. Researching the Black family represents an even greater task. E. Franklin Frazier's (1939) study was perhaps the pioneer work on the Black family. Only recently have such family theorists as Billingsley (1974) and Hill (1972) directed attention back to the Black family. The discussion of the Black family by Moynihan (1965) has drawn much criticism from family researchers. Robert Hill's Strengths of Black Families (1972) will likely become a classic mainly because of the emphasis given to the strengths of Black families as opposed to their weaknesses. In spite of these pioneering

efforts, the lack of a functional and heuristic theory about Black single-parent families remains a reality. The body of empirical literature on the Black single-parent family is both fragmented and sparse.

Definition of the Black Single-Parent Family

Any valid theory of the Black single-parent family must discuss the confusion circumscribing the change of the two-parent to a single-parent family. The first point of clarification to be made is that the single-parent family is an intact family unless more than one family member severs ties with other family members. The critical criterion is severing of ties. Physical removal from the household is not the critical issue, even in the case of divorce, separation, imprisonment, or death of a parent. The family unit remains intact if one parent stays in the home and carries on family functions. On the other hand, the family is not intact when one or two family members severs ties with the family and when family functions are disrupted. This means that any family losing members who perform critical roles for family functioning (i.e., breadwinner, role model, etc.) is considered a non-intact family.

Billingsley (1968) and other family theorists (Ladner, 1971; English, 1974; Herzog and Sudia, 1973; Hill, 1972) challenge the validity of the assumption that "two-parentness" indicates stability and is ideal for child rearing and that "single-parentness"

represents instability and is not conducive to child rearing. It cannot be denied that in many cases, the absence of a parent does affect the functioning of the family unit. However, to draw conclusions about family functioning on the basis of family structure, in general, is misleading. This is evident by the existence of healthy Black single-parent families. As pointed out above, some attention must be given to the nature of the roles and functions of the absent parent.

The second clarification needed is that Black single-parent families are synonymous with families with absent parents by choice (separation or divorce) or external control (parental incarceration or death). The concept of voluntary vs. involuntary separation is not used here to refer to separation by choice or external control, because voluntary separation is non-existent. There are always internal or external forces that either push or pull a couple apart. This concept is called the two-way push-pull valence. It is two-way in that a valence can draw the parents together just as it can separate them.

The third issue is the definition of the Black single-parent family defined here structurally as a family in which a parent is separated from the family household but the other parent resides in the household with the children. Sprey (1967) defines the single-parent family process as an ongoing nuclear unit with a single parent and at least one dependent child. Sprey's conceptualization of the single-parent family is functional in that

it suggests a network of defined relationships where the parties interact as well as respond to social, economic and political forces prior to and during the single-parent status. The present theoretical framework treats the black single-parent family in terms of its functioning and less in terms of its structure.

The value of a theory lies in its explanatory dimension. In the case of a Black single-parent family theory, the following should be addressed:

1. Factors that lead to single-parent families in general and differences along ethnic lines.
2. Prevention of Black single-parent families.
3. Factors that reunite the marriage or that lead to the return of the absent Black parent to the family household.
4. Factors that prevent the Black parent's return to the family except in the case of death.

Etiology of Black Single-Parent Families

Any theory of Black single-parent families must account for the causative factors leading to single-parent status. That is, what are the causes that push or pull a couple apart leading one family member to physically leave the household. Two assumptions are made here. First, there had existed a marriage, legally or common-law, prior to the family becoming a single-parent family. Second, there are dependent children living in the household with one male or female parent.

In many respects, the term "single-parent family" does not accurately reflect what happens in the family. The key event is that marital ties are severed in the form of divorce, legal separation, desertion or death. Forced physical removal of a parent constitutes another category of Black single-parent families where severance of marital ties may or may not be the case. Thus, the critical theoretical task is to discern the common underlying dynamics of all of these separations between Black couples.

Two-way Push-Pull Phenomenal Forces Model

Causes of separation among Black parents have been attributed to a wide range of psychological and sociological factors. However, it is insufficient to merely enumerate these factors. The more challenging task is to conceptualize the interrelationships among these factors and illustrate how they lead to separation of Black parents and the absence of the parent from the household.

Each of the married partners brings to the marriage differences in family and educational backgrounds, attitudes and beliefs, and personality characteristics. The differences are confounded by impacting economic and political forces emanating outside the Black family. These systemic forces can have both potentially negative or positive consequences for the marriage and family. This depends upon the effectiveness with which the couple and other family members collectively or individually

manage the above forces conceptualized here as the "two-way push-pull phenomenal forces." Management of these forces by the couple and other family members in turn is dependent upon the level of congruence and/or incongruence in expectations held by those in the family and the married partners in particular. This concept is termed the "expectation congruence/incongruence phenomenon." The two-way push-pull congruence model is depicted in Figure 1.

The nature of the outside impacting forces or forces within the family unit and how they impact are very complex. This is because the magnitude of the impact depends upon (a) the number of forces impacting at any single time frame, (b) the level of existing family functioning, (c) the flexibility of roles within the family, (d) which family member is targeted by the forces, (e) the initial and ongoing financial and moral resources available to the family, and (f) the quality of problem-solving skills and mechanisms within the family. Since the Black family is a complexity of interrelated units (family members), all impacting forces set off some reaction throughout the family when any member or member's role is targeted. The effects vary, however, dependent upon how crucial the targeted role performer is to the functioning of the family unit. For example, the family would be affected less if an unskilled father becomes unemployed than if a skilled mother, who possesses

more earning power, becomes unemployed. Incarceration or addiction of a mother, traditionally the primary child caretaker, might have greater consequences for the child than if this happened to the father.

Congruence-Incongruence Expectation Dimension

Congruence and incongruence in expectation refer to differential mind sets that family members hold regarding observation and interpretation strategies for responding to general life situations and impacting push and pull forces in particular. Extreme levels of congruence or incongruence will eventually become problematic for the Black family.

Management of Congruence-Incongruence Around Forces

The theoretical formulations thus far have centered on two etiological factors leading to Black single-parent families, namely congruence-incongruence expectations and the push-pull phenomenal forces. How these two phenomena are managed is the critical determinant of single-parentness among Blacks. Effective management here would be indicated by balance of these forces and expectations which is a natural striving in social systems. That is, when a family finds itself confronted with a problem, tensions are set up in that family. The members of that family, in an effort to restore balance of the family network, will attempt to solve the problems.

There are two management tasks involved in preventing "single-parentness" and maintaining balance in the Black family after

separation. The first task is to minimize incongruence between and/or among expectations (including perceptions and problem solving approaches) of members other than parents who are integral parties in the problem solving effort and who play a role in reducing incongruence. The outcome of this management task depends upon how many family members engage in the problem solving task and the level of energy invested by each in coming to agreement on goals and strategies. For the purpose of this discussion, this energy investment will be termed "agreement energy."

Two concepts are posited here. The first is "unilateral agreement energy" which refers to the tendency toward coordinated and common investment of energy by family members on agreed upon goals and strategies for managing internal and external forces. Unilateral agreement may be accompanied by high, medium or low investment of energy on the part of family members.

The second concept is "unilateral disagreement energy" which refers to the tendency toward uncoordinated efforts and disagreement over goals and strategies for managing the push and pull forces. This disagreement may be accompanied by low, medium, or high levels of energy on the part of family members.

The level of unilateral agreement or disagreement energy invested prior to separation will have residual effects on family adjustment and balance after separation. Implicitly, a two-parent family that traditionally worked together to solve problems will evidence a similar pattern afterwards.

The second management task entails allocation and maximizing of existing personal and material resources and negotiating for support resources in the larger social system. The general goal of this task is the maintenance of expressive and instrumental family functions (Parson and Bales, 1955; Billingsley, 1968). The difficulty in implementing this task lies in the counter-forces in the larger society. Simply put, the institutions of the larger society are often not supportive of American families whether Black or non-Black. This is particularly evident in the case of Black families where racism is an eminent threat to the well-being of Blacks.

Another factor contributing to the relatively high proportion of Black single-parent families is a shortage of Black males available for marriage (Jackson, 1971). This is partly due to the large number of Black male deaths in the Viet-Nam war and the huge population of young adult males confined in prisons and jails. In both of these cases, Black males are forced out of the home whether they are single or married. The greater longevity of females over males in general and the greater longevity of whites over Blacks also contributes to the higher proportion of Black single-parent families.

The above discussion has attempted to analyze the dynamics of Black single-parent families and the maintenance of balance in the family prior to and after separation. The nature of the management of push and pull forces that either divide or hold

the Black family together has also been analyzed. Unfortunately, these forces too often divide the family. Finally, we have pointed up how institutional racism has left a legacy of disadvantaged status for Blacks who are often ill-equipped to take advantage of existing resources.

Methodological Issues: Black Single-Parent Families

The theoretical framework set forth here contains two broad areas that have implications for empirical research. These areas include social psychological variables and impacting systems variables. The former involves how parents, and other family members, respond to internal and external impacting forces. The latter covers the nature of the impact of societal systems and the interactions of these with the family subsystem. Some of the general parameters that must be discussed in investigating single-parent families will be considered. "The Push-Pull Management Theory" (Parent-Absence and Child Socialization Project, Savage, Adair, Roberts, and Daniels, 1975) provides a model for data collection and discussion.

The general research strategy was to investigate some societal systems (economic, legal, educational, health, recreational, political, and media) that interact with the family system and the child both directly and indirectly. The investigation primarily focused on how the societal impact is perceived by both adults and children in the family. In addition to perceptions, the research tapped the nature of each system's impact

on the children and the family as an entity. Thus, data from a series of questionnaires were generated on the interfacing of societal systems with Black family systems and how children are affected by, and respond to, these impinging systemic forces.

Research Hypotheses

It was hypothesized that different types of Black single-parent families will differ considerably from each other. These differences were analyzed in two areas. The first area of analysis related to characteristics which are enduring and quite stable. It is here that the coping mechanisms that are functional for the Black family and its members were analyzed. The examination in this area resulted in vital data on the following:

1. Role structures in the family unit.
2. Family cohesion.
3. Parent-child relationships.

The second set of hypotheses related to characteristics of the Black family and its members which are transitory and highly susceptible to change: immediate social, economic, or emotional conditions; problems and strains; general adjustment; self-concept; and disciplinary strategies adopted by the family unit.

Method

Design

A major function of the family is to provide the context in which a child interacts with other people in order to develop a sense of self. When the balance of the family unit is

disturbed by the removal of a parent, the effects are shared by each member of that family unit. The purpose of the "Parent Absence and Child Socialization Project" was to describe longitudinally and cross-sectionally differences among five groups of Black parent absence: incarcerated, widowed, divorced, separated and male-headed.[1]

The dependent variables investigated were: attitude towards parents, family cohesion, disciplinary strategies, income maintenance, involvement of relatives in family function, role structure in the family unit and the personality variables of self-concept and academic achievement. The perceived quality of community variables, in terms of the social services currently available and utilized, were also analyzed as dependent variables.

The general measurement plan of the study was to follow the academic and personality development of a group of Black children through three years of schooling to see the effects of parent absence on their personal, social and educational development.

Materials

In order to gather information for the study, a set of questionnaires that contained culturally relevant terms which would be understood by all respondents had to be found. Since the contents and wording of already existing questionnaires were deemed irrelevant and/or inappropriate for the proposed respondent group, it was necessary to revise some of them and to develop others.

The end product was a revised parent interview and a child interview composed of modified psychological tests.[2] A third questionnaire, Separation Experience, was also designed and implemented.

The revised parent interview was similar to the parent questionnaire utilized within the ETS-Head Start Longitudinal Study entitled, "Disadvantaged Children and Their First School Experiences." Both interview schedules were organized into three sections referring to the child in school, the community, and personal and family matters. Also, in both studies, information was gathered on the child's locus of control technique and learning strategies. The purpose of the parent interview was to describe the physical and social environment in which both parent and child were living.

The child interview was composed of modified versions of the Piers Harris Self-Concept Scale, Crandall's Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Scale, The Nowicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale, Gough's Masculinity-Femininity Scale, and Coopersmith's Self-Concept Test. The child interview also contained a Wide Range Achievement Test and the newly developed test of racial self-awareness--the RASA.

The third questionnaire, Separation Experiences, was a supplement to the parent interview. It was developed to gather information related to recidivism, family counseling, adult sexual adjustment and attitudes, and feelings toward conjugal visitation privileges.

Sampling Procedure

Locating qualified participants for the study was one of the more difficult tasks. Fear and distrust towards being interviewed was displayed by some prospective respondents. Therefore, it was important for the project staff to make a favorable impression during the initial contact.

Prospective respondents for the incarcerated sample were identified through lists of inmates supplied by the Washington, D.C. Department of Corrections and visits to penal institutions in the Washington Metropolitan area. The criteria for the incarcerated group were:

1. Married inmates with children in public schools.
2. Inmates with at least three years remaining in prison.
3. Inmates who were living with their spouses prior to incarceration.

Prospective respondents for the other parent-absent families were identified through several methods. Initially, a random selection telephone procedure was used to identify about half of the Black parent-absent households used in the study. In addition, a listing of parent-absent households where the parent's absence was due to death, divorce or prolonged separation was provided by the Department of Human Resources. Public Service announcements were put on local radio and television stations asking for parent-absent participants. Visits were also made to local day-care centers at which project personnel recruited parent-absent families.

Subjects

A total of 200 parent-absent families divided into five groups: incarcerated (n=46), separated (n=57), divorced (n=48), widowed (n=19), and male headed (n=20) families were interviewed. The incarcerated, separated, divorced and widowed groups were all female-headed families. The incarcerated husbands had to be in prison over the entire period of the study (i.e., three years). Their spouses had to remain married during this time. For the women in the separated group, their husbands had moved out of the household, but did not obtain a divorce. The husbands of the widowed women had died prior to initiation of the project. The male-headed families were comprised of a combination of widowed, divorced and separated males. There were no husbands with incarcerated wives in the study.

A random number table was used to select which of the respondent's children would be interviewed. Only one child was interviewed within each family. The children ranged in age from 5 to 15 years old. Fifty-seven percent of the children interviewed were female.

Interview Procedure

Interviewers were recruited from among graduate students at Howard University. They were given an in-depth review of the project questionnaires, forms, and proper coding methods. Over the course of the study, interviews were conducted in teams of

two. The teams of interviewers always consisted of one Black male and one Black female and sometimes two females. One person administered the parent questionnaire and the other person administered the child questionnaire. When the parent-absent families were contacted by project personnel, they were informed of the goals, procedures and qualifications for the study. If a family were qualified and interested in participating in the study, an appointment was made to interview them in their home. Each family was interviewed six times over a four-year period. There was a six-month interval between repeated interviews.

During the one-hour period, one interviewer tested the parent and the other interviewer tested the child in separate rooms. The sex of the interviewer was always matched with that of the child being interviewed. The entire set of questionnaires was given during each interview period. The ordering of the questionnaires was counterbalanced over the six interviews.

Results and Discussion

A considerable amount of data was collected from the series of interviews with each family. The significant differences between parent-absent families are discussed under the following major headings:

A. Major socio-psychological variables affecting parent-absent families. These included:
   1) Role structures in the family unit
   2) Family cohesion
   3) Parent-child relationships

B. Impact of societal systems and the interaction of these with the family. Included among these external impacting forces were:
   1) Legal
   2) Educational
   3) Economic
   4) Health
   5) Recreational
   6) Religious
   7) Transportation

A series of X^2 tests were computed to determine differences between the five types of parent-absent groups and differences across interviews. Only results that were significant at the .05 level were discussed. However, results significant at either the .01 level or the .001 level were also noted.

Major Socio-Psychological Variables

The reason for parent separation was important in influencing roles assumed by different members of the family. Across all family types, children played an important role in household maintenance activities. However, only among the separated

families were children contributing significantly to the financial status of the family (X^2 = 40.01 $p<.001$). This was probably due to the fact that this group was among the lowest in family income of all the groups. Hence, it was necessary that some children assume a financial support role within the family.

Even though the incarcerated group also had a relatively low mean family income, they did receive more financial support from extended family members than any of the other groups (X^2 = 16.26, $p<.05$). In addition, extended members of the incarcerated families also played a more significant role in household maintenance (X^2 = 20.00, $p<.05$), disciplining the children (X^2 = 31.54, $p<.05$), and in general family planning (X^2 = 34.46, p .05) than in the other groups. Extended family members were also more important in conflict resolution within the incarcerated and separated families than where there was a more permanent separation, such as among widowed and divorced families (X^2 = 33.18, $p<.01$).

A number of items within the interview pertained to indications of family cohesion after separation. Among all parent-absent groups, the majority of respondents indicated that cohesiveness within the nuclear family was either very good or good. However, a significantly greater number of respondents within the separated and divorced groups, than within other groups, indicated that there was considerable variability in ideas, values, and interests among members of the family (X^2 = 28.32, $p<.05$).

Perhaps this variability reflected similar differences in the parents' ideals, values, and interests prior to their separation.

There were considerably more responses of neutral to very poor when rating relationships with in-laws than when rating the nuclear family. As many respondents rated their in-laws in the negative direction as in the positive direction. These results were consistent across all parent-absent groups. The need for positive relationships with extended family members is probably more important for parent-absent families than for families with both parents present. Hence, the negative ratings observed have important implications for family cohesiveness.

Divorced parents were significantly more negative towards the absent spouse than other single parents ($X^2 = 20.53$, $p<.01$). Negative feelings which probably existed prior to divorce could easily be aggravated if alimony, child support, and visitation rights added to the dispute. Obviously, this makes it more difficult to maintain family solidarity.

The absence of a parent can have important implications for parent-child relationships. For example, parents from the separated group indicated that they spent considerably less time with their children than women from the other parent-absent groups ($X^2 = 8.34$, $p<.05$). Thirty-two out of 72 parents in the separated group reported that they spend little time with their children. On the other hand, some separated parents indicated that

they have no choice but to be with their children most of the time. For example, separated parents took their children with them to visit friends more often than parents in other groups. In contrast, divorced parents tended not to take their children with them when visiting friends ($X^2 = 11.12$, $p<.05$). One possible explanation for this result is that the average divorced woman was in better financial shape than other women included in this study, and could afford to pay other people to watch her children when visiting friends.

None of the males reported using corporal punishment with their children. However, women with husbands in prison employed significantly more corporal punishment and took away their childrens' rights more often than other single-parent mothers ($X^2 = 25.35$, $p<.05$). This may have been due to the anxiety aroused in knowing that their husbands were in prison and that their children could also end up there without strict discipline. This anxiety hypothesis was also suggested by the frequency with which the incarcerated group reported taking their children to church. Of the parents who go to church, more women with husbands in prison took along their children than any other group. Again, it seems that they may have been using religion as a means to prevent their children from following their fathers to prison.

Impact of Societal Systems

A number of societal forces significantly affect the attitudes and behaviors of parent-absent families. Perceptions of

the impact of these systems affected the parent-absent family groups in significantly different ways. Male-headed families were more positive about the schools their children were attending than female-headed families. The separated and the divorced groups were the most negative about the school ($X^2 = 15.87$, $p<.05$). In explanation, additional results suggest that male-headed families had more resources to provide better educational opportunities for their children than female-headed families.

Among all of the groups, the incarcerated group parents perceived that their children were having more difficulty getting along with teachers than other children ($X^2 = 14.52$, $p<.05$). This finding has important implications for teachers and school psychologists who must work with these children. Again, these parents' anxiety about the child's social interactions may have been related to their perception of a need for strict discipline both within and outside the home.

Most of the parent-absent families indicated that they visit their family doctor more than any other individual to get advice or help with health-related problems. However, separated and incarcerated families used their neighborhood clinics rather than private medical facilities ($X^2 = 45.52$, $p<.001$). These two groups were shown to have the least financial resources and, therefore, had to make use of less expensive public facilities. In addition, the separated and incarcerated groups reported more child and family care centers in their neighborhoods than the other groups ($X^2 = 18.56$, $p<.05$).

It was very interesting to find that parent-absent families with an incarcerated spouse were less in contact with the legal system than any other group ($X^2 = 17.02$, $p<.05$). This may indicate that the spouses of incarcerated parents became disillusioned with the legal system that sent their husbands to jail. In addition, because of their prior contact with legal authority, they may have been more aware of legal practices and could assume some of these responsibilities on their own.

In terms of political voting patterns, wives of incarcerated spouses responded differently than any other group. Twice as many women with imprisoned mates indicated that they had never voted in any election as indicated that they had voted. The majority of respondents in the other parent-absent groups reported that they had often participated in political elections ($X^2 = 26.09$, $p<.001$). One of the reasons given by the wives of incarcerated mates for not voting in the last election was their inability to get to the polls. This was not a primary excuse within any of the other groups ($X^2 = 35.45$, $p<.05$). The incarcerated group, more than any other group, also reported a feeling of powerlessness to act through political means ($X^2 = 27.29$, $p<.001$). This lack of political motivation combined with traveling problems, low educational levels, and the fact that they were younger than parents in other groups might explain the low voting frequency.

The highest percentage of women without jobs was within the incarcerated group. In contrast, the largest percentage of

women with paid jobs was in the divorced group ($X^2 = 16.11$, $p<.01$). The data also indicated that divorced parents have considerably more years of education than parents in any of the other groups. This would obviously be related to their holding a paid job. Conversely, the incarcerated group reported less formal education, which probably makes it more difficult for them to find a paid job.

When women in the separated and incarcerated groups were employed, they indicated that they had to travel further to get these jobs. Similarly, when incarcerated and separated women were employed, they began working at their jobs more recently than parents in other groups. Further, male-headed families were employed at their most recent job much longer than the female-headed groups ($X^2 = 138.20$, $p<.001$). Also, a greater percentage of the male-headed families were more often self-employed than any of the female-headed families ($X^2 = 138.20$, $p<.001$).

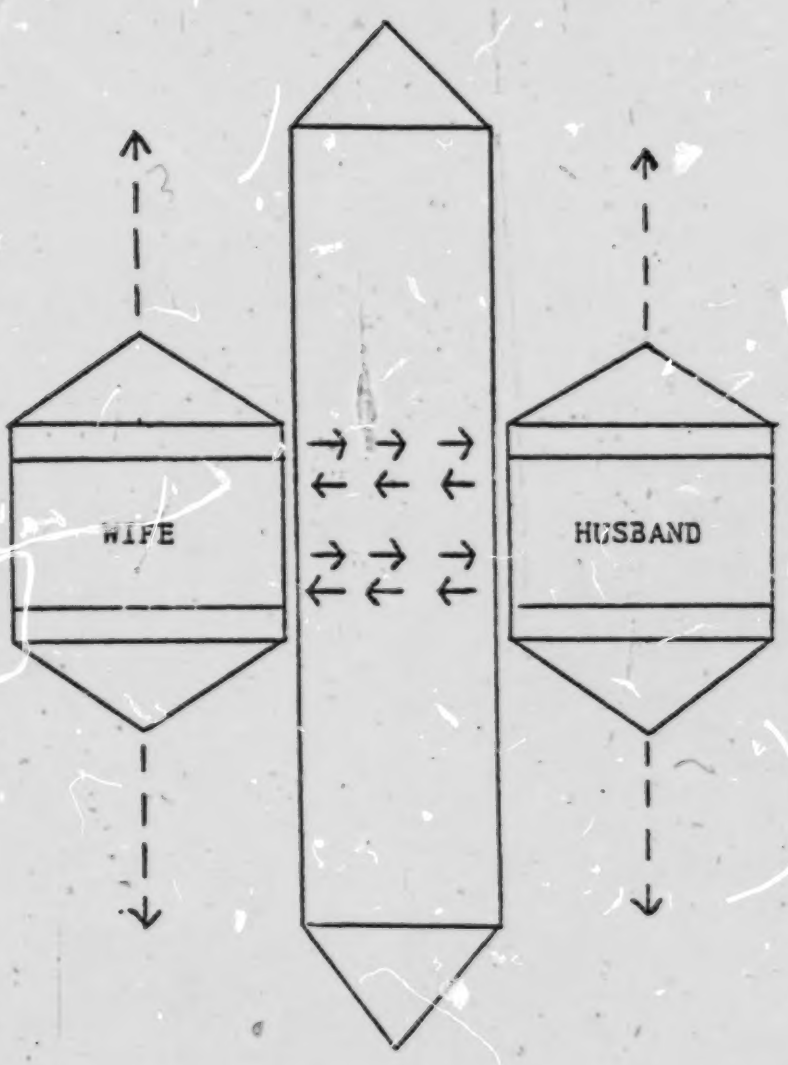
In looking at the effects of recreational opportunities, a dichotomy seemed to take place among the five groups. In response to a number of different questions, women in the separated and incarcerated groups reported that recreational facilities were not available, while the widowed, divorced and male parent-absent groups reported there were. This dichotomy was most evident when responding to the availability of summer day camps ($X^2 = 15.41$, $p<.05$) and after-hour school programs ($X^2 = 19.33$, $p<.05$). This probably relates back to the lower economic

resources and more frequent geographic mobility of these groups. For example, the separated and incarcerated groups have changed residence within the last three years significantly more often than any of the other groups ($X^2 = 43.22$, $p < .05$). Therefore, it is possible, that even if recreational opportunities existed, they would probably not be aware of its availability.

In summary, many significant differences among the parent-absent groups were observed with respect to variables affecting their attitudes and behavior. This will have important implications for psychologists, sociologists and other professionals who must deal with the growing phenomenon of the Black parent-absent family.

FIGURE #1

Two-Way Push-Pull Congruence Model



Footnotes

1. The parent-absent families interviewed in this study were part of the Administration for Children, Youth and Families Program, which was supported from 1973-1978 by Grant No. OCD-CB-475(04) from the Office of Child Development. Requests for reprints should be sent to James E. Savage, Jr., Ph.D., Associate Professor of Clinical Psychology, Psychology Department, George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia 22030.
2. A more detailed discussion and copies of the modified instruments used in this study may be obtained from the Parental Imprisonment and Child Socialization, Annual Report #1 (Psychology Department, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20059).

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APPENDIX 6

PERCEPTIONS BY BLACK FEMALE PRISONERS OF THE EFFECTS OF SEPARATION FROM THEIR CHILDREN

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It has been estimated that 75 to 80 percent of the approximately 15,000 incarcerated women in federal, state, and local facilities are mothers (Blick and Neto, 1976; McGowan and Blumenthan, 1976). The problems encountered by these imprisoned mothers and their children have been documented by several state and national surveys (Dubose, 1975; Henriques, 1977; McGowan and Blumenthal, 1976; Stanton, 1977; Zalba, 1964).

McGowan and Blumenthal (1976) interviewed a large sample of child welfare and criminal justice professionals. In addition, administrators and women imprisoned in correctional facilities in the New York City area were surveyed. Their results indicated that the criminal justice system rarely provided for the welfare of children with incarcerated mothers. Generally, children were cared for by relatives, while approximately 12% of the children were placed in foster homes. Mothers expressed greatest concern when their children were in foster care, and least concern when their children were cared for by grandparents. The mothers felt uncertain, anguished, and threatened because the children had other caretakers who might turn their children against them.

Restricted visiting conditions were also a major concern of incarcerated mothers. In some institutions children under the age of 16 were prohibited from visiting. Visits at other prisons were brief and sometimes without personal contact. Nevertheless, at least 80% of the mothers reported having on-going contact with their children and guardians. A majority of the mothers planned to re-establish a home for their children upon release from prison.

Similar findings were reported by Stanton (1977) with regard to incarcerated mothers, their children, and their children's caretakers. Mothers on probation and their children were also interviewed. In addition to concerns about child care and visiting privileges, Stanton found that incarcerated mothers were less informed than mothers on probation when asked specific factual questions about their children (e.g., name of the child's school, teachers, and friends). He concluded that since most incarcerated mothers were single parents, the period of incarceration brought about a serious disruption in the mother-child relationships which could have lasting effects.

The feelings of imprisoned mothers regarding the separation from their children were identified in a study by Lundberg, Sheekley and Voekler (1975). The psychological impact of separation was found to closely resemble other forms of loss such as death and divorce. The grief response of the women was characterized by emptiness, helplessness, anger, guilt, and rejection. Diffi-

culties that an incarcerated mother had in discussing with her child the reasons for their separation were indicative of the degree to which imprisonment affected communication. Women did not generally foresee major difficulties resulting from reunions with their children. The importance of a mother processing her grief was concluded to be a basic factor for a healthy emotional reunion with a child (Lundberg, et al., 1975).

Lundberg and his colleagues also found that maintenance of the mother-child relationship during imprisonment was a mediator in reducing the effects of separation. It was shown that frequent visiting was related to satisfaction in communication, and that absence of visits created a more severe emotional response especially among mothers of school-aged children. Prison support systems were found lacking in facilitating maintenance of mother-child relationships. There were few specific outlets for the expression of grief and feelings related to separation. Also noted were problems inherent in institutional visiting as well as system barriers against obtaining visits and passes to the community. Furthermore, institutional practices induced forced dependency which seemed antithetical to characteristics of the maternal role.

Banfanti, Felder, Loesch, and Vincent (1974) conducted a descriptive study of the maternal role of incarcerated mothers at the Louisiana Correctional Institute for Women. Seventy-one mothers were administered a research instrument exploring demographic, situational, behavioral, and perceptual variables con-

cerning maternal role behavior (MRB) and maternal role perception (MRP). They found that current legal custody of the children, prior living arrangements of the children, post-release care plans of inmate mothers for their children, and the number of children were all predictive of MRB.

In summary, these studies provided evidence that the criminal justice system (i.e., the police, judiciary, and correction departments) often contributes to the negative impact upon family cohesiveness when a parent is imprisoned. The maternal bond between mother and child is usually adversely affected. However, none of these studies presented a detailed picture of the dynamics operating to determine a mother's perception of the effects of separating from her child.

The present research employed a Transactional Analytic approach to assess ways in which Black female prisoners view separation from their children. Data were collected on a) the prisoner's view of herself, b) how she perceives the child's view of her c) how she perceives the guardian's view of each other. For a more in-depth understanding of these perceptions projective data were also collected. In addition, as related to the observed perceptual problems, some alternative approaches to female correctional programming will be discussed.

METHOD

Sample

The 60 women who volunteered to participate in the study were all Black females incarcerated for a wide variety of crimes.

They were imprisoned at two penal institutions: one situated in West Virginia and the other located in Maryland. Washington, D.C. was the listed home for all of these prisoners. The women were all mothers, with the majority having at least two children. They ranged in age from 20 to 35 years.

Instruments

A 100-item questionnaire based on Transactional Analytical theory (Berne, 1961) was given to each of the inmates (Savage, Adair, and Roberts, 1973). This questionnaire was designed to assess an incarcerated mother's perceptions of herself, her child, and the child's guardian. It focused mainly on feelings about communication among these individuals. Sample items are shown in Table 1.

The Separation-Attachment Apperception Test (SAAT) consisted of a set of 20 pictures developed to examine the underlying psychological dynamics pertaining to separation of mother and child (Savage, Adair, and Roberts, 1973). Eight of the pictures were selected for use with this prison sample (See Figures 1-8).

Procedure

The questionnaire was administered in a five-person group setting. Prisoners were asked to rate each question on a scale from one to five. The investigator monitoring the questionnaire administration provided assistance to those inmates who had problems following directions, reading the questionnaire, or marking answer sheets.

TABLE 1

EXAMPLE ITEMS WITHIN EACH TRANSACTIONAL ANALYSIS CATEGORY ON THE INMATE QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Ego States (Scale: not at all like that ----- very much like that)

We want you to rate yourself, in general, on the following terms and phrases.

67. Having the tendency to make snap decisions
75. Being supportive
79. Being in touch with what is going on around you now
80. Making decisions based on facts only

II. Time Structuring (Scale: never-----always)

Rate yourself on the following ways you have spent your time since you have been here.

30. Expressing simple social greetings to others ("Hello," "What's happening," "See you later")
31. Making small talk
32. Running games on folks (not being straight)
33. Getting things done (sewing a dress, doing a job)
34. Being intimate (being real, caring, sense of closeness, willing to risk being open and honest)

III. Stroking (Scale: never-----always)

A cold prickly is a stroke that gives a bad feeling. Keeping in mind what a cold prickly is, rate yourself on the following:

39. Do you ever give cold pricklies?
40. Do you ever take cold pricklies?
41. Do you ever ask for cold pricklies?
42. Do you ever refuse to give cold pricklies?

IV. Communication (Scale: never-----always)

49. To what extent do you have straight communication with your child (Straight means honest and direct conversation, not jive)?
50. To what extent do you have garbled (mixed or confusing) communication with your child?
51. To what extent do you have two-way communication?

V. Life Positions (Scale: strongly disagree ----- strongly agree)

How do you presently view your child?

5. I'm O.K., child's O.K.
6. I'm O.K., child's not O.K.
7. I'm not O.K., child's O.K.
8. I'm not O.K., child's not O.K.

FIGURE 1. CARD 1 OF THE SEPARATION-ATTACHMENT APPERCEPTION TEST

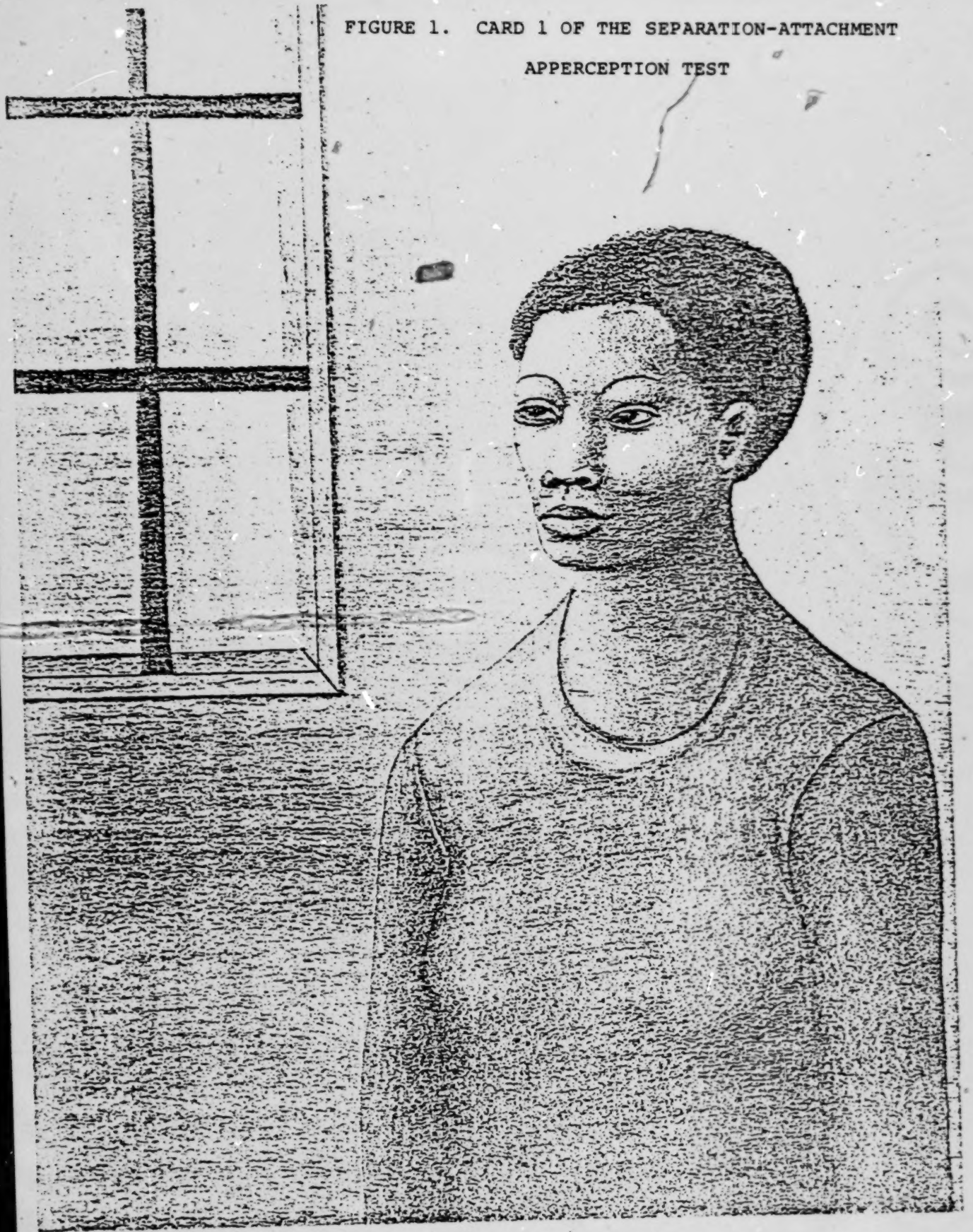


FIGURE 2. CARD 2 OF THE SEPARATION-ATTACHMENT APPERCEPTION TEST

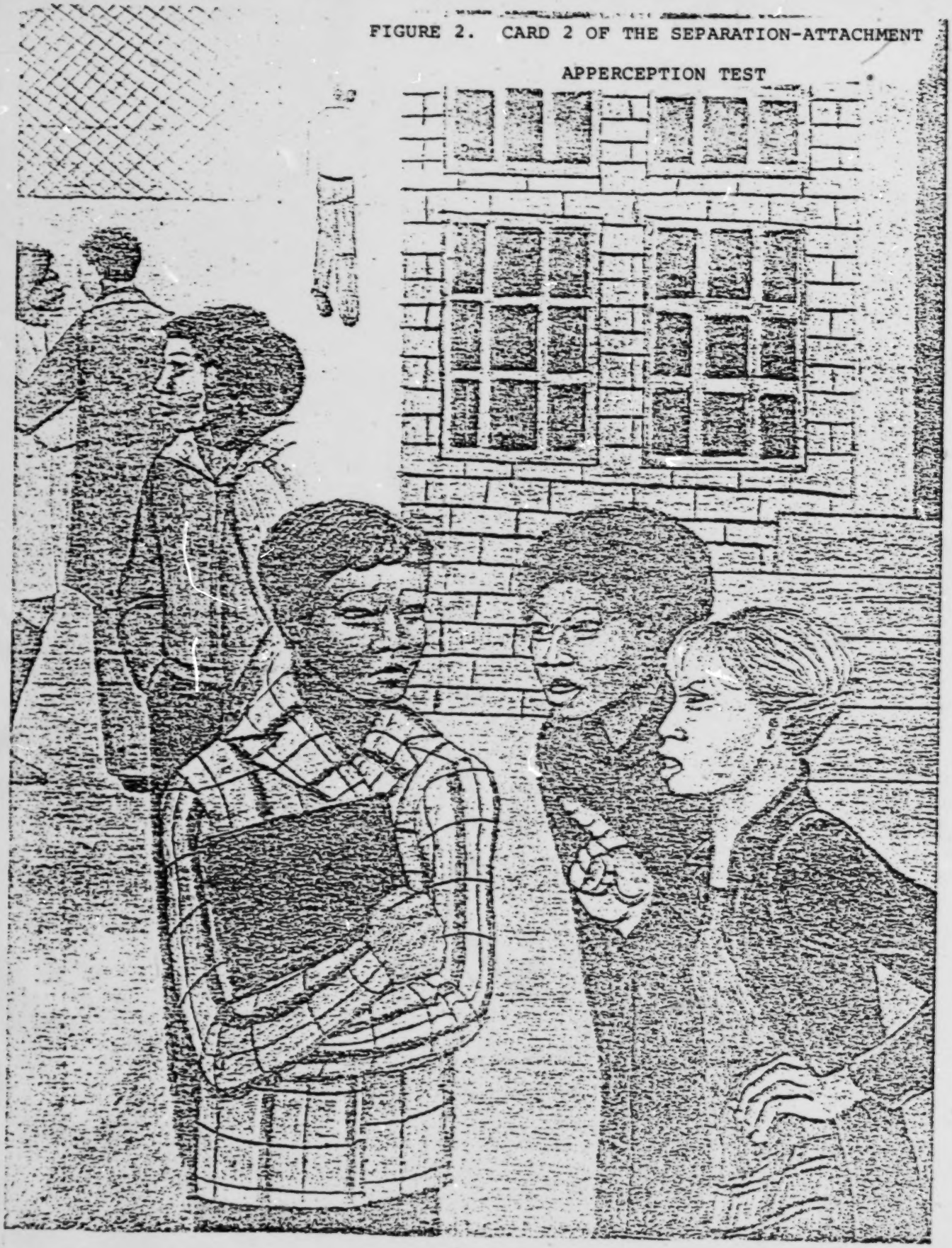


FIGURE 3. CARD 3 OF THE SEPARATION-ATTACHMENT APPERCEPTION TEST

FIGURE 4. CARD 4 OF THE SEPARATION-ATTACHMENT APPERCEPTION TEST

FIGURE 5. CARD 5 OF THE SEPARATION-ATTACHMENT APPERCEPTION TEST

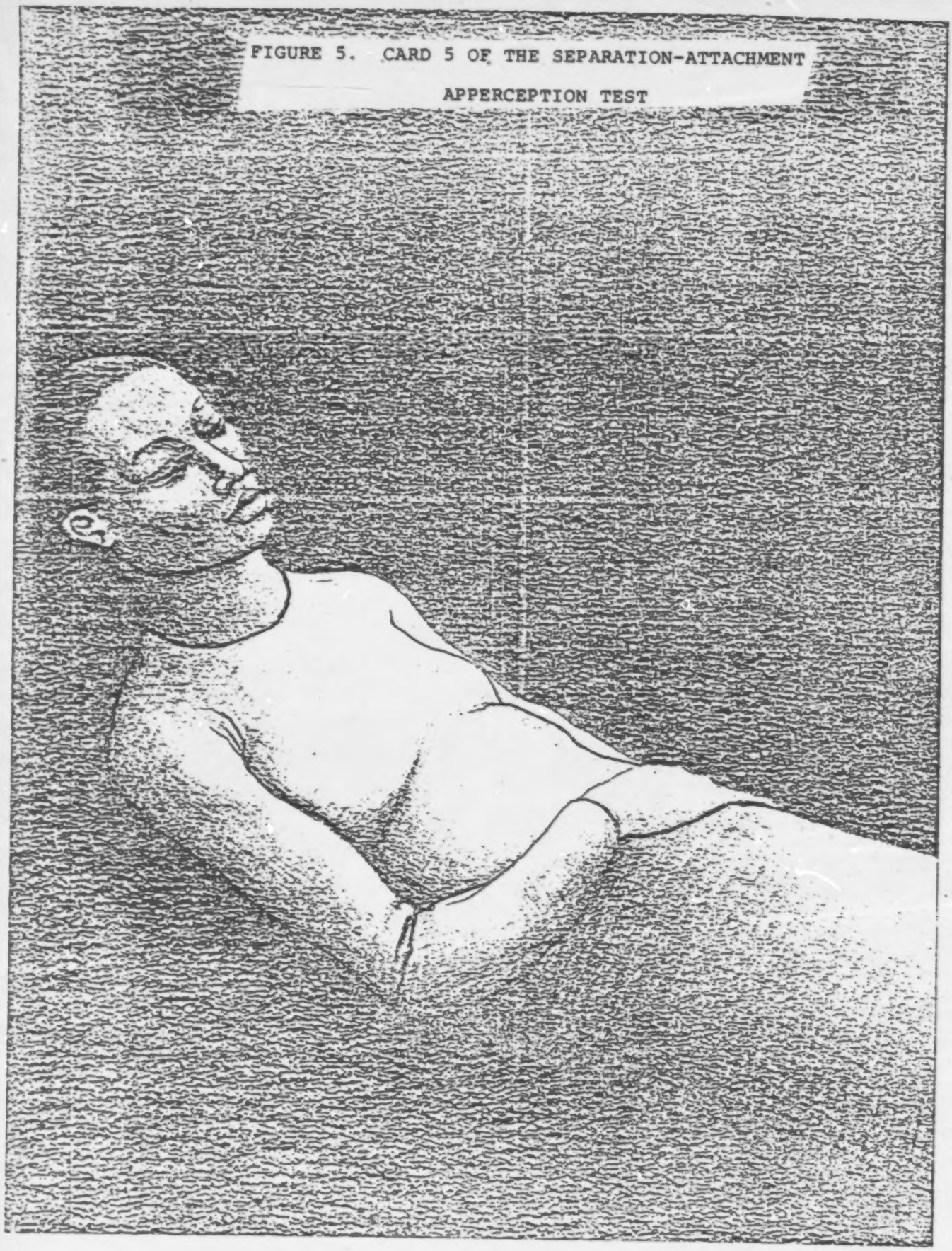


FIGURE 6. CARD 6 OF THE SEPARATION-ATTACHMENT APPERCEPTION TEST

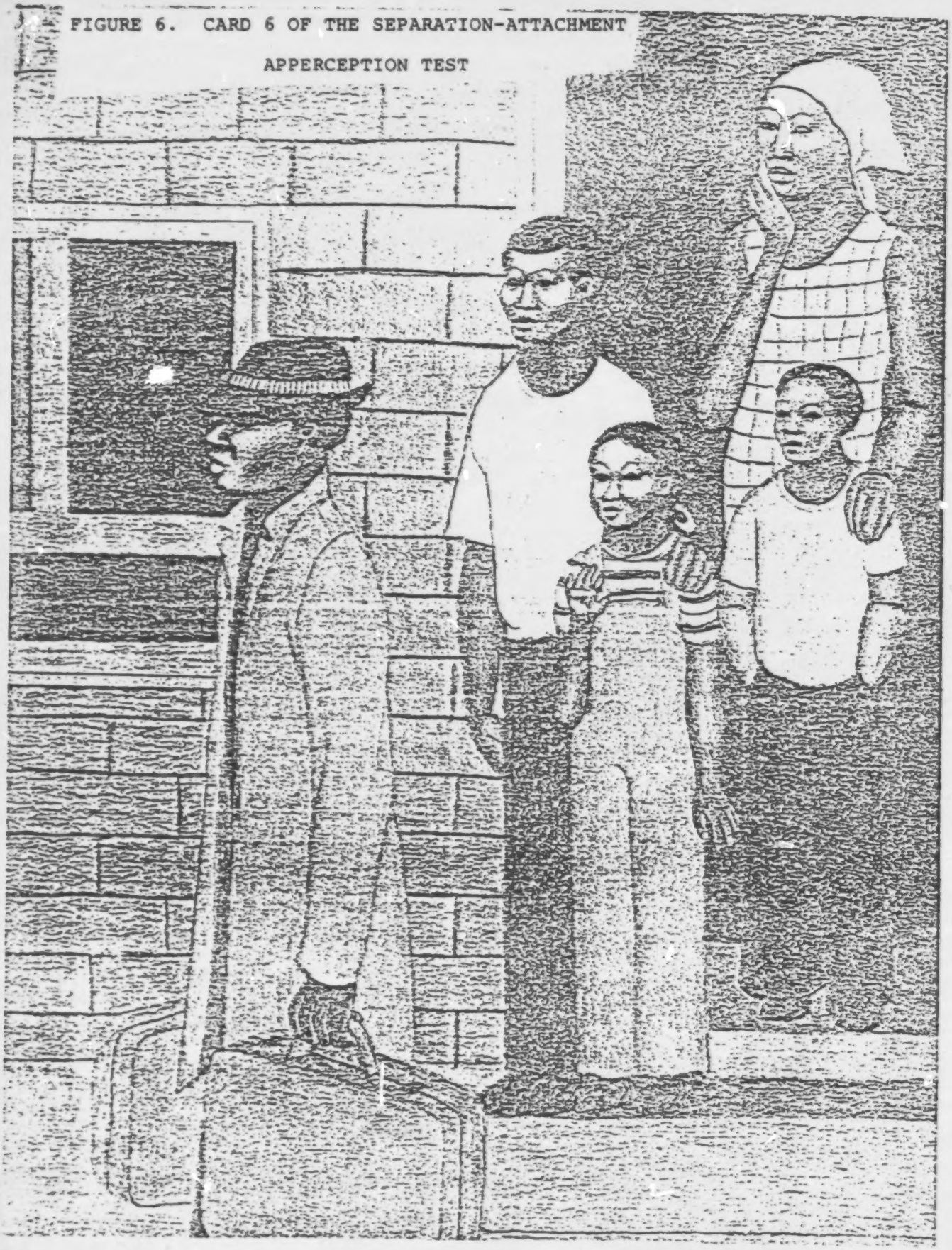
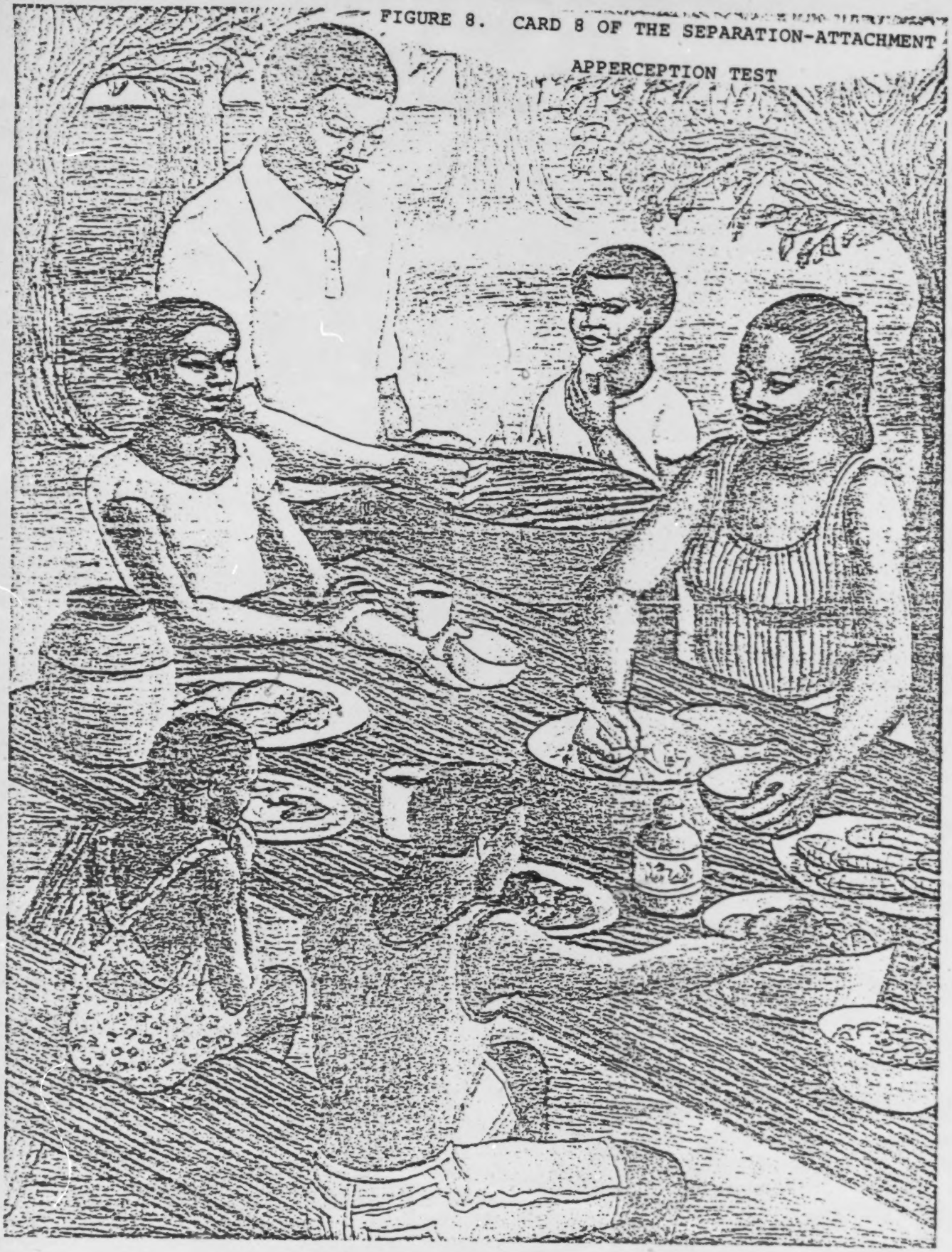


FIGURE 7. CARD 7 OF THE SEPARATION-ATTACHMENT APPERCEPTION TEST

FIGURE 8. CARD 8 OF THE SEPARATION-ATTACHMENT APPERCEPTION TEST



that were provided. Responses to the items were interpreted with respect to the Transactional Analytical model. Major concepts employed from Transactional Analysis were ego states, time structuring, stroking, communication, and life positions.

SAAT cards were administered individually, in random order, and the responses were recorded on audio-tape. Prisoners were asked to tell a story about each picture, elaborating on what happened prior to the event in the picture, what was happening now, and what would happen in the future. All responses on the SAAT were transcribed and scored on the following dimensions:

1. Depression - feelings of sadness and hopelessness
2. Elation - feelings of doubt and sadness
3. Uncertainty - feelings of doubt and mistrust
4. Internal Control - the degree to which the character in the picture felt responsible for her own feelings and behavior
5. External Control - the extent to which the character does not take responsibility for her own feelings and actions
6. Separation - the departure of one character from another character in the story
7. Attachment - the reunion of characters or displays of contact
8. Economic State - references to financial conditions
9. Reflectivity - thinking, reminiscing of past, present, or future life states

10. Impulsivity - acting or behaving without thought
11. Aggression - the display of hostile, injurious or destructive behavior
12. Fear of Self Disclosure - refusal to define problems of the characters which may reveal true life situations
13. Criminality - any references to imprisonment, illegal acts and behavior
14. Religion - any references to religious institutions, gods, or deities

These particular emotional, intellectual, behavioral, and value dimensions were selected because of their relevancy in previous research to the kinds of psychological behaviors that are of interest in studying family separation due to incarceration. The observed frequencies of projections that could be classified within each of the 14 dimensions were examined to further understand the perceptions of imprisoned women.

Data Analysis

Response frequencies and relative percentages were tabulated for each item on the 100-item questionnaire. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov one sample test (Siegel, 1966) was also used to compare observed item distributions with those theoretically derived on a chance basis. All reported results indicated a significant departure from chance with at least a .05 level of confidence. In addition, percentages were calculated of subject references to each of the 14 dimensions in response to individual SAAT pictures.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Questionnaire Findings

Responses on the questionnaire were used to describe the perceptions of imprisoned mothers within a Transactional Analytical framework. These perceptions were classified and interpreted with respect to five major concepts developed in Transactional Analysis theory: ego states, time structuring, stroking, communication, and life positions.

Self-concept of ego states. The allocation of time spent in three ego states--Parent, Adult, or Child--was assessed on the questionnaire. Most women reported significantly low levels of energy when acting towards others in a critical manner. Further, women in both institutions reported reliably low levels of energy expended in manifesting acrimonious behavior. Significant acrimonious behaviors included punishing, looking down on others, hating, and being destructive. A majority of the women also reported more positive behaviors such as being helpful (76.5%), loving and warm (85.3%), protective (55.9%), and supportive (58.8%).

The inmates showed few extremes in perceptions of their cognitive abilities or deterioration of their affective capacities. That is, the women generally felt that they were able to reason (97.0%), make decisions (87.8%), make decisions based on facts (76.4%), and were in touch with what was going on (88.2%).

Time structuring. Within Transactional Analytical theory six ways have been delineated for structuring time: 1) withdrawal, 2) ritualizing, 3) activity, 4) pastiming, 5) games, 6) intimacy. Inmates reacted, as was expected, to the question concerning running games on people. The majority of women reported that they spent hardly any time watching the clock in this manner. This may have been related to a high degree of nurturance also expressed by these women. On the other hand, it could have reflected the often observed strategy of giving investigators what they felt were socially acceptable responses. For example, the women indicated that they frequently expressed simple greetings (79.3%), got things done (82.2%), and were intimate (79.4%).

Stroking. Theoretically, there are two types of strokes that individuals can display--namely, recognition and touching. Recognition is a stroke that is purely verbal in nature. However, touching involves actual physical contact. Both types of strokes let individuals know that they are alive by the fact that others have communicated this to them in some way. The quality of stroking can take three forms: a) positive (warm fuzzies); b) negative (cold pricklies); c) a combination of positive and negative (plastic fuzzies). The quality of stroking was analyzed through questionnaire items.

The results indicated that the distribution of women responding to giving, taking, asking for, and refusing to give

positive strokes was not significantly different from a theoretical chance distribution. However, there were significant deviations in the distributions of persons responding to negative strokes. Most women indicated that they could not give, take, or ask for 'cold pricklies'. Similar findings were found with respect to taking and asking for 'plastic fuzzies'. Considering the nature of isolation experienced by these women who have been cut off from their traditional reinforcement networks, the reliance upon one another for positive recognition and touching appears to be paramount.

Communication. In general, most women rated communication between themselves and their children as good (80.4%), direct (86.0%), and with reciprocal flow (62.8%). However, some women reported a significant amount of static attached to this communication. Almost all of the women (96.0%) who responded to the questionnaire reported that their children have guardians. Most also indicated that they experienced difficulty when interacting with their children's surrogate parent. The frequency of which communication between the child's parent and guardian occurred also suggested some difficulties. However, the data collected did not address this issue directly, but did indicate the need for future research.

Life positions. The findings indicated a dichotomy with regard to personal life positions. The women seemed undecided as to whether they were OK or not, but were certain that some

other adults were. Interestingly, the women consistently felt that neither the children's guardians nor the children themselves were OK. Ambivalent feelings about life positions were expressed by the women about themselves, their children, their children's guardians, and others in general.

Projective Findings

Each of the eight-picture cards taken from the SAAT were analyzed individually to gain further insight about the perceptions and feelings of incarcerated mothers.

Card 1. Responses most often elicited by Card 1 (see Fig. 1) were Criminality (27.8%), Depression (18.8%), and Reflectivity (13.9%). These responses were more likely to occur within the present temporal orientation than in the past. None of the stories produced reflections into the future. However, Criminality (12.5%) and Depression (14.8%) were expressed as future conditions. Apparently, the women saw difficult and sad times for the future.

Card 2. Aggression (48.6%) and Depression (12.1%) were elicited most often by the picture on Card 2 (see Fig. 2). Both Aggression (61.5%) and Depression (46.2%) were also more likely to be seen as present states. Most women viewed aggression as having occurred in the past (25.0%) with the outcome being sadness and depression (38.5%). Stories often reflected loss of friendships as a result of gossip and mistrust.

Card 3. The women were most likely to respond to this card (see Fig. 3) with themes of Depression (22.2%) and Reflectivity

(20.2%). Depression responses were more often cited as future (40.9%) conditions rather than present (36.4%) or past (22.7%) conditions. The Reflectivity themes were either in the present (85.0%) or future (15.0%). There were no reflections into the past, a time which elicited mainly feelings of Depression. Again, as with Cards 1 and 2, the future appeared bleak and full of sadness.

Card 4. Themes of Separation (30.5%), Attachment (22.1%) and Depression (18.3%) were revealed by responses to Card 4 (see Fig. 4). Separation themes were most likely to occur in the past (30.0%) and present (27.5%), whereas Attachment themes occurred in the present (72.4%) and future (24.1%). Depression, on the other hand, occurred in the present (62.5%) and past (25.0%). Stories focused on being separated from children, and trying to comfort, console, and reassure the child of togetherness for the future. Attachment responses revealed themes of warmth and nurturance directed by the mother to the child.

Card 5. Card 5 (see Fig. 5) revealed themes of Depression (28.6%) and Reflectivity (19.0%) similar to those with Card 3. Both Depression and Reflectivity were considered conditions of the present and future. Another dimension elicited by Card 5 was fear of Self-Disclosure (13.3%). Fear of Self-Disclosure was more likely to occur in the past (64.3%) than either the present (21.4%) or future (14.3%). The women seemed reluctant

to identify the problems which were responsible for the depression and the deep thought.

Card 6. Separation (33.1%), Depression (19.0%) and Aggression (10.4%) were the most prevalent reactions to this picture (see Fig. 6). Separation (74.1%) and Depression (67.7%) responses occurred primarily in the temporal orientation. However, Aggression responses were elicited most often in the past (70.6%). Quite often stories indicated that some type of argument or disagreement had transpired which resulted in the departure of the male figure. The departure was accompanied by feelings of loneliness and despair. The return of the male figure was seen as unlikely, and the future full of hardships.

Card 7. Expressions of Attachment (29.2%), Separation (22.1%), and Elation (14.2%) were evoked by this card (see Fig. 7). Feelings of Attachment and Elation were expressed more often in the present (63.6% & 43.7%) and future (33.0% & 50.0%) than in the past (6.1% & 6.3%). On the other hand, Separation responses occurred in the past (44.0%) more often than in the present (28.0%) or future (25.0%). The familial scene seemed to generate feelings of nurturance, warmth, and love. Although the mother was perceived as being separated from the family, the cohesiveness of the family was projected for the future.

Card 8. The results from Card 8 (see Fig. 8) revealed a pattern similar to that shown from Card 7, with Attachment (38.5%)

and Elation (37.5%) being expressed most often. Both pictures depicted family gatherings which elicited feelings of cohesiveness and happiness. This was only one of two cards which stimulated feelings of Elation (41.7%) and Attachment (27.0%) in the future. Stories focused on happy family gatherings with projections of similar reunions in the future.

CONCLUSIONS

It can be deduced from the findings that the children of these Black female prisoners were experiencing some hard times. Mothers generally viewed themselves and their children's guardians with either feelings of ambivalence or outright disdain. Moreover, feelings of depression and pensiveness pervaded the SAAT stories, suggesting that the female prisoners themselves were also experiencing hard times. The incarcerated mothers projected numerous instances of family separation, and a future dominated by criminality and hopelessness.

Nevertheless, the test materials showed that some women maintained strong feelings of warmth and nurturance toward their children and families. In addition, many mothers reported that communication was important for both mother and child. Although this communication did exist, it was not very frequent and often strained or garbled.

Based upon the above findings it seems important to look for ways to alleviate some of the problems deriving from the separa-

tion of Black female prisoners from their children. More field research must be conducted to determine the effects of a mother's delinquency and incarceration on the child's development, and to find better ways for interrupting the cycle of neglect and delinquency.

FOOTNOTES

1. The parent-absent families interviewed for this study were part of the Administration for Children, Youth and Families Program, which was supported from 1973-1978 by Grant #OCD-CB-475(04) from the Office of Child Development. Requests for reprints should be sent to James E. Savage, Jr., Ph.D., Associate Professor of Clinical Psychology, Department of Psychology, George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia.

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APPENDIX 7

AGE AT ONSET AND DURATION OF SEPARATION AS THEY RELATE TO FATHER-ABSENT CHILDREN'S PERFORMANCE ON COGNITIVE TASKS

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The seminal literature on single-parent families was published in the early 1900's. Bensen (1909) discussed the early twentieth century period's attitudes against the alarming growth of single-parent families. Later research has begun to focus more on the precipitative causes of single-parenthood rather than community attitudes (e.g., Armstrong, 1932; Shaw and McKay, 1932; Weeks and Smith, 1939).

Many terms, definitions and concepts have been used to describe the single-parent family. Generally, these terms follow two lines of thinking; those terms that refer to the single-parent family's (a) structure and (b) functioning. Several of those terms used to refer to the single-parent family structure are "attenuated family," "male-headed," "missing parent," "non-family," "matriarchial" (cf. Herzog and Sudia, 1973; Ladner, 1974; Rosenfeld and Rosenstein, 1973; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1974). Examples of terms used to describe single-parent family functioning are "unstable," "deficient," "pathological," "disrupted" and "malfunctioning" (cf. Etzkowitz and Schaflander, 1969; Moynihan, 1965). Both categories of structural and functional characteristics of the single-parent family are used synonymously

and interchangeably throughout the relevant literature. This practice confounds the usage of single-parenting conceptualizations and presents few consistent trends for future research.

Of the reviews that have summarized the literature on single-parenthood (e.g., Herzog and Sudia, 1969, 1972, 1973; Kadushin, 1970; Selden, 1965; Sprey, 1968; Stream, 1961; Stringer, 1967; Thomes, 1968), few have drawn conclusions as to the direction of effects on children (e.g., Herzog and Sudia, 1968, 1971, 1973; Kadushin, 1970; Selden, 1975; Sprey, 1968; Thomas, 1968) or the clinical needs of single-parent families that foster the members' psychological well-being and social development (e.g., Stream, 1961; Stringer, 1967).

Father-absence is presumed to have a debilitating or negative effect when the loss of a family member disrupts the interpersonal dynamics of that family. Studies that have focused on the debilitating effects of father-absence on children have examined socialization processes such as sex-typing (e.g., Hetherington, 1966, 1972; Leichty, 1960; Sutton-Smith, Rosenberg and Landy, 1968), antisocial behaviors (e.g., McCord, McCord and Thurber, 1962; Shaw and McKay, 1932) and academic achievement orientations (e.g., Atkinson and Ogsten, 1975; Kriesberg, 1967) and performance (e.g., Carlsmith, 1964; Sciara, 1975; Sciara and Jantz, 1974).

Another line of reasoning suggests that father-absence has facilitative or positive effects where the loss of an unemployed

or low-income father may economically qualify his family for public assistance services and monies (e.g., Baughman, 1968). Father-absence has also been found to have no effects on children or families where the father was not an interactive member of the family unit, and thus is not missed (e.g., Wasserman, 1970). This third line of reasoning suggests that the precipitative causes and degree of father-absence may be more crucial in assessing its effects than mere absence. More recently, studies focusing on the effects of father-absence have examined the child's achievement aspirations, orientations and performance (e.g., Kriesberg, 1967; Sciara, 1975; Sciara and Jantz, 1974).

Case for Degree of Father-Absence Effects

Objective Components

Several studies have suggested that father-absence has its greatest effect on children who are separated from their fathers at an early age (e.g., Blaine, 1963; Blanchard and Biller, 1971; Carlsmith, 1964; Hetherington and Deur, 1971; Holman, 1953; Leichty, 1960; Santrock, 1970). The trend of these studies suggests that the age of the child at the onset of father-absence predisposes the child to miss certain cognitive experiences. Father-absence is presumed to cause a loss of an identity resource relevant to the attainment of particular goals. Early father-absence has a greater effect because the boy may have problems in solving the oedipal conflict, or the identification process without a father. Blanchard and Biller (1971) matched

early father-absent boys (before age 5) and later father-absent boys (after age 5) on socio-economic status (SES) and type of absence (e.g., widowed, separated) to examine peer relationships. The results suggested that early father-absence disrupts the child's learning processes and subsequent cognitive development. The crucial variables may be the intensity of the father-child interaction while the former is present, thus facilitating better social adjustment in later than earlier separated boys. Boys who are separated from their fathers at an earlier age seem to be more passive, less verbal, express more guilt, less industrious and less attentive than late separated boys (e.g., Santrock, 1972). Santrock (1972) found that the greatest effect of early father-absence seems to occur during the first two years of the boy's life. Scores on the Otis Lennon Mental Ability Test for the early father-absent group were lower than for the later father-absent ones. Thus, the effects of father-absence seems to differ depending on the age of the child when the father left. The effects noted for the age at onset variable of father-absence on girls suggests that early absence causes more cognitive disruption than later absence. However, girls seem less negatively affected by onset factors than boys.

Duration of Separation Effects

Few studies have focused on the effects of the duration of the separation period on the child's development (e.g., Hether-

ington, 1972; Hetherington and Deur, 1971; Santrock, 1972). Hetherington (1972) found that "early separated" children who experienced longer periods (up to 6 years) of separation seem more negatively affected in their heterosexual relationships than later separated children who experienced shorter durations. Fathers may serve as models of how to interact effectively in man-woman relationships. Thus, longer durations of separation may produce more negative effects than shorter durations. If the prolonged absence of the father robs the family of psychic and economic resources, then some knowledge of the duration may serve to predict the effects of the separation.

The Coleman study (1966) concluded that father-absence itself is not the crucial element to the child's adjustment, but rather the complex interaction resulting between interfamilial and extrafamilial factors. Father-absence alone was not found to account for the total variance in lower school grades and achievement, if relevant variables such as SES and type of father-absence were controlled.

The Relationship Between Father-Absence and Cognitive Performance in Children

Several studies have focused on the conditions that determine the early development of those cognitive skills and personality characteristics that are necessary for success in achievement-related settings, such as school (e.g., Crandall, Katkosvky and Crandall, 1965. The trend of these studies suggests that

certain early stimuli, exposure or experiences serve as determinants of the adequacy of a child's cognitive development. Cognitive development is defined as the "determinants of intellectual competence in all human beings" (Rohwer, 1970, p. 1381).

Several factors seem important in adequate cognitive development, which may be manifested in the child's achievement performance. Staples (1976) suggests that the adequacy of the family background serves as the precursor to high achievement performance in children. Achievement performance, in this case, is defined in two ways: 1) those behaviors such as grades, studying and scores on standardized achievement measures, and 2) the motivational component (i.e., the aspiration to excel and the need to compete with others). If father-absence predisposes children to miss certain cognitive experiences, then the condition may have some affect on the cognitive development or achievement of children.

Several investigations of father-absence have found no effects on the achievement performance of children (e.g., Atkinson and Ogsten, 1975; Baughman and Dahlstrom, 1968; Coleman, Campbell, Hobson, McPartland, Mood, Weinfeld and York, 1966; Gurin and Epps, 1976; Kandel, 1971; McNeal, 1973; Robins, Jones and Murphy, 1966; Sciara and Jantz, 1974; Wasserman, 1970). Gurin and Epps (1976) found that very little, if any, unique variance in achievement results from the knowledge of family structure alone. Wasserman (1970) found no difference between

children from broken and intact homes on school performance. Baughman and Dahlstrom (1968) found no relationship between father-absence and father-presence groups on Stanford Binet test scores. None of these studies just reviewed have examined the interpersonal dynamics of the family background other than the mere presence or absence of the parent.

Few studies suggest that father-absence may relate with higher academic achievement performance in children (e.g., Baughman, 1971; Hilgard, Neuman and Fisk, 1960). These studies suggest that the father's absence generates more social support and attention which may foster a more stimulating atmosphere for learning in children.

A great number of studies has suggested that father-absent children perform more poorly in achievement settings than father-present children (e.g., Anastasiow, 1965; Blanchard and Biller, 1971; Bronfenbrenner, 1967; Carlsmith, 1964; Deutsch, 1960, Deutsch and Brown, 1964; Funkenstein, 1963; Hetherington and Deur, 1971; Lessing, Zagorin and Nelson, 1970; Mackie, Maxwell and Rafferty, 1967; Sutton-Smith, Rosenberg and Landy, 1968, Rouman, 1956; Shaw and White, 1965; Suterland, 1930; Vroegh, 1973). Sutton-Smith, Rosenberg and Landy (1968) found that father-absent children score lower on ACE college entrance examinations than father-present children. Lessing, Zagorin and Nelson (1970) found lower IQ scores for "working class" 9-15 year old father-absent children than for father-present ones.

Few studies have focused on father-absence itself as a significant factor in the achievement performance of children (e.g., Santrock, 1972). It has been suggested that father-absence leads to lower achievement in children because of the loss of psychic and economic resources to realize success goals (Hunt and Hunt, 1975).

Subjective Components

The Relationship Between Assumed Responsibility for Achievement Outcomes and Achievement Performance

Several investigations have found that an assumed responsibility for achievement outcomes, or locus of control, leads to higher academic achievement performance (e.g., Coleman, et al., 1966; Crandall, Katkovsky and Crandall, 1965; Crandall, Katkovsky and Preston, 1962; Joe, 1971; Lefcourt, 1966, 1972; Rotter, 1966). These studies suggest that the child who feels responsible for his/her successes and failures (i.e., an internal perception) shows greater persistence and initiative in seeking rewards despite obstacles. An internal perception of events allows one to attribute success and failure to the quality of one's performance rather than to chance occurrences in the environment. The oft-cited Coleman et al., (1966) study found that for lower class and Black children, a personal responsibility in their successes or failures was the single most important correlate of achievement behavior.

The Coleman study measured this variable by:

> (A) pupil factor, which appears to have a stronger relationship to achievement than do all the "school" factors together, is the extent to which an individual feels that he has some control over his destiny (p. 23).

Thus, an assumed responsibility for one's success or failure seems to relate positively with the degree of achievement performance. The success-failure factor has been found to mediate the level of grades and achievement test scores (Lefcourt, 1966, 1972). The present study examines the possible mediating influence that an internal orientation for success or failure might have for the father-absent child's achievement performances. The father-absent child who focuses on the quality of his/her performance might develop a different orientation to achievement than those who do not.

Kriesberg (1967) characterizes the reasons for lower achievement in father-absent children as the following:

> ...(L) low aspirations or expectations by the parents, lack of financial support for incidental needs in public schools and for the ability to forego earnings, crowded living quarters, lack of parental knowledge for educational guidance and modeling, and numerous siblings sharing finite adult social and other resources (p. 289).

The trends for those studies that focus on the debilitative effects of father-absence on the child's academic achievement is purportedly validated by dependent measures such as lower scores on standardized achievement and intelligence tests, poorer grades, lower teacher evaluations and earlier dropout rates. An individual's proficiency in these skills may facilitate his/her advancement in academic settings. The major weakness in the relevant literature on academic achievement assumes negative effects due to the mere absence of the father. If the mere absence causes lower achievement, and the numbers of father-absent families is increasing, it is important that the school system adjust to the special needs of this group.

Summary

Father-absence has been characterized as having general and specific disrupting effects on the family's structure and functioning. General effects of father-absence may predispose the child to miss certain cognitive experiences which may be provided by the father's presence. The general loss of psychic and economic resources may also result from father-absence. Any and all of these effects may affect numerous aspects of the father-absent child's psychological well-being and social development, as represented in lowered achievement performances.

Specific effects of father-absence may result from the knowledge of the child's degree of assumed responsibility for success and failure in achievement settings, the effects of

type of separation conditions and the influence of background variables such as the mother's education, occupation and family income.

Though several instruments have been developed to assess the degree of assumed responsibility of adults in various situations, few exist that assess this characteristic in children (e.g., Bialer, 1961; Crandall, Katkovsky and Preston, 1962). The focus of these measures is on the mastery of coping efforts in school, as reflected in behaviors toward parents, teachers and peers. Conceptually, it is assumed that the early development of an internal perception for achievement outcomes will be manifested in personality characteristics that facilitate success in school settings.

The role that parents play in the development of the child's orientation to and performance in achievement settings is fairly clear. The importance of the father in the development of academic success may underlie the social policy that attempts to improve the academic performance of "underprivileged" children through intervention strategies (e.g., Head Start). A majority of these children come from father-absent homes. Rouman (1956) suggests that academic failure is greatest in homes where the father is absent. These children seem to lack faith in their future success. Coleman and his associates (1966) found that orientation to success may be the crucial factor in achievement

performance. Thus, the absence of the father seems to have some measurable effect on the child's subsequent achievement performances.

More specific effects of father-absence may be examined when the degrees of the absence are known. Factors such as the age of the child at onset and duration may explain significant proportions of the variance in the father-absent child's achievement performance.

No studies have examined the effect of the age at onset of father-absence on the achievement performance of father-absent children. In the more common approach to this topic, onset is dichotomized into early versus late absence, losing valuable information about the total contribution of this variable to achievement. This study examined the onset variable to determine how much variance in achievement performance can be explained with the knowledge of the age of the child at father-absence onset.

Several studies have suggested that disruptions in cognitive experiences will lead to lower academic achievement performance (e.g., Shaw and White, 1965; Vroegh, 1973). Situation-specific factors surrounding the separation condition such as the duration may also have a debilitating effect on the father-absent child because of the prolonged loss of psychic and economic resources presumably provided by the father. The type of separation condition may also mediate the effects of father-absence

through the purportedly greater stigma associated with certain kinds of marital disruptions. This study examined the interactive processes of the aforementioned factors on the achievement performances of father-absent children. It also examined the contribution of each and all of the aforementioned factors as they serve to characterize the precipitative causes and degree of father-absence effects. The contribution of this study to the relevant literature is its approach to addressing certain conceptual as well as methodological gaps.

Hypotheses

A critical review of the father-absence literature generated three lines of research questions:

To what extent did the objective components of father-absence such as the child's age at the onset and duration of separation serve as predictors of subsequent cognitive performance?

(1) It was hypothesized that the age at onset would be significantly related to the cognitive performance of father-absence;

(2) The age at onset would have significant impact in predicting the cognitive performance of father-absent children;

(3) The duration of separation would be significantly related to the cognitive performance of father-absent children;

(4) The duration of separation would have significant impact on predicting the cognitive performance of father-absent children;

(5) The combined contribution of age at onset of father-absence and duration of separation would have more significant impact than their relative contribution in predicting the cognitive performance of father-absent children;

The second line of research questions examined to what extent the subjective components of father-absence such as the child's assumed responsibility for success and failure in achievement-related situations serve as predictors of subsequent cognitive performance?

(6) It was hypothesized that the degree of assumed responsibility for success (I+) would be significantly related to the cognitive performance of father-absent children;

(7) It was further hypothesized that the addition of the father-absent child's degree of assumed responsibility for success to the combined contribution of age at onset and duration effects would have more significant impact than their relative contribution in predicting the cognitive performance of father-absent children;

(8) It was hypothesized that the father-absent child's degree of assumed responsibility for failure (I-) would be significantly related to the subsequent cognitive performance;

The third line of research questions examined the extent to which the combined contributions of both objective and subjective components of father-absence rather than relative contributions serve as more significant predictors of children's cognitive performance;

(9) It was hypothesized that the addition of the child's assumed degree of responsibility for success and failure to the combined contribution of age at onset and duration would have a more significant impact on cognitive performance than their relative contributions.

METHOD

Design

This study was a factorial design. Three groups of father-absent boys and girls (i.e., separated, divorced and incarcerated)

were examined on several intellectual-academic achievement performance variables.

The dependent variables or criteria investigated were: Reading and Arithmetic subtests of the Wide Range Achievement Test (Jastak and Jastak, 1976). The independent variables or predictors were: the father-absent child's age at the onset of separation, duration (i.e., number of years since the father left), and the possible mediating influence of variables such as the sex of the child, type of marital separation condition, and orientations for success or failure in academic situations.

Subjects

One-hundred and twenty-one father-absent families from the metropolitan Washington area served as subjects. There were three groups: separated (n=64), divorced (n=33) and incarcerated (n=24). Each respondent was paid $15 for participating in the study. The children's ages ranged from 5 to 15 years old, with 47% of the sample being father-absent boys.

Instruments

This study employed the Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT) and Crandall's Intellectual-Achievement Responsibility Questionnaire (IAR). The WRAT (Jastak and Jastak, 1976) is a paper and pencil technique which assesses the children's writing, spelling, word recognition and arithmetic computation skills. The WRAT also serves as a measure of intelligence and it has been standardized for children between the ages of 5 years to 11 years, 11

months old (level 1). The WRAT has been standardized for different ethnic groups, specifically Blacks. The present study employed the reading and arithmetic subtests.

The reading subtest assesses recognition and naming of letters as well as the accuracy of pronunciation of words. The test-retest reliability of the WRAT has varied from .92 to .98 over a twenty-year period (i.e., 1955-1975) (Jastak and Jastak, 1976). Concurrent validity of this subtest is evidenced by a .78 correlation with grade point average (Jastak and Jastak, 1976). The arithmetic subtest focuses on the child's ability to perform written problems, count, solve equations and read number symbols. The test-retest reliability is .85.

Crandall and her associates (1965) developed a scale to assess the degree to which a child believes that he/she is responsible for his/her intellectual or academic successes and failures. The measure consists of 34 forced choice items which are scored as total I (internal or self), perceived failure total (I-) and perceived success (I+). The underlying assumption of this measure is analogous to the locus of control concept of Rotter (1966). The test-retest reliability of IAR is .69 for total I, .66 for I+ and .75 for I- (all r's are significant at the 1% level). It has been shown that the correlations between I+ and I- consistently show that a child seems to develop his/her concept of assumed responsibility for success and failure at different rates. Chance (1965) suggests that IAR correlates highly with other achievement measures such as arithmetic performance and spelling.

The data for the present study was taken from a larger project which followed the psychosocial development of over 200 Black children through four years of schooling. The focus of the larger study was to examine the relative effects of parental imprisonment on children as compared to other types of marital separation. The larger study was funded by a grant from the Office of Child Development, Health Education and Welfare.

Prospective respondents were identified by various demographic records. The Haynes Address-A-Key was employed to identify names and addresses of eligible respondents by census tracts. The incarcerated sample was identified through lists of inmates supplied by the District of Columbia Department of Corrections and visits to local penal institutions. The criteria for the incarcerated group were: 1) married inmates with children in public schools; 2) inmates with at least three years remaining in prison; 3) inmates who were living with their spouses prior to incarceration.

Prospective respondents for the divorced and separated groups were identified through several methods. The data from the "Address-A-Key" search was cross-referenced with a listing of father-absent households where the cause was divorce or prolonged separation. This list was provided by the Department of Human Resources. Visits were also made to local day-care centers to recruit qualified father-absent families. A random selection telephone procedure was employed to identify over one half of the

families included in the present study. A random selection table was also employed for the child in each family who would be questioned.

Interview Procedure

Interviewers were graduate students from Howard University. Each interviewer was given an intensive training session on administering the project questionnaires and attendant forms. Each male interviewer was paired with a female partner. During the interview, one person administered the parent questionnaire while the other administered the child questionnaire. After respondent eligibility was determined, an interview was scheduled. A signed consent form was obtained for each respondent. During the interview, one interviewer questioned the mother while the other questioned the child in another room. Matching procedures were employed between the sex of the interviewer and the sample child. Completed questionnaires were returned to the project office and checked for coding errors.

RESULTS

The means and standard deviations for all variables under consideration are displayed in Table 1. There were no differences between the sexes for the 64 girls and 57 boys in the present study. Sex was also included in the regression analysis and produced no effects; thus, sex differences will not be discussed further. As Table 2 indicates, the standardized regression

coefficients showed that the age at onset was significantly related to both the arithmetic (b= .20) and reading (b= .31) cognitive performance of father-absent children. The age at onset variable accounted for 4% and 9% of the variance in arithmetic and reading performance respectively.

Duration

As Table 2 indicates, the standardized regression coefficient showed that the duration of separation was significantly related to the father-absent child's arithmetic (b= .20) but not reading performance (b= .08). The duration variable accounted for 14% of the variance in the arithmetic performance of father-absent children.

TABLE 1

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR ALL VARIABLES

VARIABLES	$\bar{X}$	SD
Independent		
Age at Onset	5.02	3.73
Duration	5.76	4.01
Assumed Success	9.67	4.53
Assumed Failure	11.43	3.05
Child's Present Age	10.48	3.07
Dependent		
Arithmetic	11.78	8.14
Reading	5.68	3.88

TABLE 2

BIVARIATE REGRESSION ANALYSES FOR PREDICTING CHILDREN'S COGNITIVE PERFORMANCE FROM THE OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE COMPONENTS OF FATHER-ABSENCE

Component	B	b	Cognitive Performances Standard Error of B	
Objective			Arithmetic	F
Age at Onset	.44	.20	.19	5.17*
Constant	9.55			
Duration	.41	.20	.18	5.07*
Constant	9.42			
Subjective				
Assumed Failure	1.31	.49	.21	37.89**
Constant	-3.20			
Assumed Success	.18	.09	.16	1.16
Constant	10.07			
			Reading	
Objective				
Age at Onset	.32	.31	.09	12.84**
Constant	4.05			
Duration	.80	.08	.08	.84
Subjective				
Assumed Failure	.36	.28	.11	10.56**
Constant	5.22			
Assumed Success	.46	.05	.07	.35
Constant	1.52			

NOTE: (N=121) B and b refer to unstandardized and standardized coefficients, respectively.

* p .05
** p .01

Combined Age at Onset and Duration Effects

As Table 3 indicates, the combined contributions of age at onset and duration have more significant impact in predicting the arithmetic and reading performance than their relative combination. Twenty-three (23) percent of the variance in either arithmetic or reading performance can be accounted for by the knowledge of the father-absent child's age at onset and the duration of the separation condition.

Assumed Responsibility for Failure Effects (I-)

As Table 2 indicates, the standardized regression coefficient showed that the degree of assumed responsibility for failure (I-) was significantly related to both the arithmetic (b = .49) and reading (b= .28) cognitive performance of father-absent children. I- accounted for 24% and 8% of the variance in arithmetic and reading performance, respectively. When I- was added to the regression equation that already contained the age at onset and duration variables, there was a 17% significant increment to the R^2 value (see Table 4).

TABLE 3

MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSES FOR PREDICTING FATHER-ABSENT COGNITIVE PERFORMANCE FROM THE AGE AT ONSET AND DURATION VARIABLES

			Cognitive Performance	
VARIABLES	B	b	Standard Error or B	F
			Arithmetic	
Age at Onset	1.25	.57	.23	29.35**
Duration	1.55	.57	.21	29.23**
Constant	-1.12			
			Reading	
Age at Onset	.65	.62	.11	35.35**
Duration	.47	.48	.10	21.39**
Constant	-.30			

NOTE: (N = 121) B and b refer to unstandardized and standardized coefficients, respectively

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

TABLE 4

HIERARCHICAL REGRESSION ANALYSES OF COMPONENTS OF FATHER-ABSENCE

PREDICTOR VARIABLE	R	R^2	Increment to R^2	F^a
			Arithmetic	
Step 1				
Age at Onset	.20	.04	.04	
Duration	.48	.23	.19	17.82**
Step 2				
Assumed Failure	.59	.36	.17	21.81**
Step 3				
Assumed Success	.60	.36	<.01	16.68**
			Reading	
Step 1				
Age at Onset	.31	.09	.09	
Duration	.48	.23	.14	18.22**
Step 2				
Assumed Failure	.50	.25	.02	13.29**
Step 3				
Assumed Success	.50	.25	< .01	9.90**

a. All F tests are on the increment in variance accounted for (i.e., squared semipartial correlation) and use the variance not accounted for at that step as the error term. The dfs vary from (1,119) to (4,116) depending on the number of variables in the equation.

* p .05

** p .01

Assumed Responsibility for Success Effects (I+)

As Table 2 indicates, the standardized regression coefficient showed that the degree of assumed responsibility for success was not significantly related to the reading or arithmetic performance of father-absent children. No significant increment to R^2 of arithmetic performance was noted when the assumed responsibility for success variable was included in the regression equation already containing the age at onset and duration variables (see Table 4). No significant increment to R^2 of reading performance was noted when the assumed responsibility for success variable was included in the regression equation already containing the age at onset and duration variables (see Table 4).

Combined Age at Onset, Duration, I+ and I- Effects

As Table 4 indicates, the addition of both the assumed success and assumed failure scores to the regression equation already containing age at onset and duration variables explains 17% more of the variance in arithmetic performance and 2% for reading. The F tests of these regression equations are both significant at the .01 level.

DISCUSSION

The present investigation assessed the effects of certain objective and subjective components of father-absence on the cognitive performance of children. The effects of the age of the child at father-absence onset (subjective) and duration of separation (objective) were examined in performance on the reading and

rithmetic subtests of the Wide Range Achievement Test (1976). The effects of personality variables such as the child's degree of assumed responsibility for success and failure were also examined as possible mediating influences.

As expected, the relative importance of the age at onset variable in predicting the cognitive performance of father-absent children was found. Other studies that have used age at onset of father-absence as a variable have focused on its dichotomization into before and after age 5 respectively.

In this study, the use of regression analyses enabled us to examine the total contribution of this variable in predicting the father-absent child's performance on reading and arithmetic tasks. Significant proportions of the variance in the father-absent child's cognitive performance can be explained by knowledge of the age at onset.

The duration or length of the father separation was also of interest to the present study. As expected, the relative importance of the duration variable in predicting the cognitive performance of father-absent children was found for the arithmetic, but not the reading variables.

Though 86% of the variance in cognitive performance remains unexplained, the present study offers a novel approach to the interpretation of possible consequences of father-absence. Perhaps the skill of reading is supplemented more so by watching T.V. and other media, than arithmetic-related skills.

As expected the combined contribution of the age at onset and duration variables had more significant impact than their relative contributions.

The mediating influence of personality variables such as the child's degree of assumed responsibility for success and failure was also examined in this study. The degree of assumed failure or blame rather than success seemed to be a more efficient mediator in predicting the father-absent child's cognitive performance.

Obviously, father-absent children seem to take greater responsibility when they don't do well in achievement-related situations than when they succeed. Perhaps, the stigmatization of having one parent sensitized the child to the score they expect to receive. On a separate question, 20% ($X^2 = 2.0$, $p < .05$) of the father-absent children stated that they felt that the teacher was to blame when school work was poorly done.

This study may be highlighting the notion that father-absent children do not experience contingency of success that would allow them to take the credit when something good was accomplished. As expected, the age at onset had a significant effect on the achievement performance of father-absent children. These results were similar to those of Santrock (1972) in confirming the effects of the age when the father left on the child's cognitive functioning. It seems that father-absence does predispose children to miss certain cognitive experiences, which may result in decrements or changes in the child's achievement behaviors.

The study of cognitive development and education involves the constant monitoring of children to assess certain deficiencies or weaknesses in their background development that need bolstering or remedial preparation for successful performance in school settings. Social service agencies that deal with children from parent-absent situations may need to provide immediate services or attention to young children who stand to suffer more than older children in such families. Organizations such as Big Brothers and Boy Scouts of America may serve in an intensified way to assist those children who are young when separation occurs.

As expected, the duration of separation was also significant in determining the cognitive performance of father-absent children. These results, similar to those of Hetherington and Deur (1971), suggest that longer periods of separation tend to have a "degenerative" effect on the adjustive mechanisms of this condition. Thus, the longer a child is without his/her father, the lower the achievement performance. The duration variable in combination with the age at onset provided more information about the negative effects of father-absence on achievement performance. The present study is an improvement over previous ones, in that these variables were examined as they contributed to the regression equation, rather than as dichotomized (i.e., before and after age 5) which loses valuable information.

Furthermore, the introduction of the child's degree of assumed responsibility for success or failure served as a signifi-

cant predictor of the achievement performance during father-absence. The mediating influence of these variables was confirmed through their introduction into a regression equation that already contained the age at onset and duration variables. The child's orientation to success and failure can augment the effects of father-absence. Those children who are provided knowledge that they can succeed in achievement-related situations seem to fare better than those who are not given such information. The internal orientation allows the father-absent child to be personally responsible for any accomplishment such as good grades, or high test scores.

Future research should focus on the effects that age of the child has on the adjustive mechanisms of father-absence. Curriculum development in school should be adjusted to meet the particular needs of students who reflect an ever-increasing social phenomena: single-parenthood. Conceptually, more studies need to focus on father-absence itself as a stable condition, not to be compared to father-presence. The research literature suggests that the dynamics of father-absence are different from those of two-parent situations. More research is needed to explore the multivariate conditions of single-parenthood such as multiple families, sibling rivalries, status of the aged in one-parent families (as it impacts on their assistance in child rearing), and patterns of schooling such as tracking as they relate to the age at onset variables.

The notion of the long-term effects of separation from father need to be explored through the introduction of social service programs targeted to provide reading, mathematics, and writing skills to those who may or may not experience "duration effects". Research should focus on the use of multivariate statistics to assess the various conditions surrounding father-absence.

The ability of IAR to mediate the achievement performance of father-absent children also serves as an area of future research interest. If father-absent children can learn early in life that they are important and valued, then their ability to effectively evaluate the quality of their achievement performances will be enhanced. Future research should focus on the use of the IAR measure, which has been validated on children.

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APPENDIX 8

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THE EFFECTS OF LABOR AND EMPLOYMENT ON THE FEMALE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD: A LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS

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INTRODUCTION

Of all the women in the labor force in March 1975, approximately 1 out of 8 or 12.3 percent of them was either divorced or separated. The 12.3 percent is an increase from 10.7 percent in 1970. Compared to 55 percent of the 3 million separated women and 44 percent of the 47.5 million married women living with their husbands, 72 percent of the 4 million divorced women in the United States were in the labor force.

Grossman (1977) examined the distinct labor force characteristics of divorced and separated women and compared them with those of married women. For the most part, widowed and single (never married) women were generally excluded from the analysis. Grossman (1977) contends that their ages and family responsibilities are different from those of married and formerly married women.

Grossman's results show the United States has the highest divorce rate in the world; more than one million divorces were recorded in 1975. Preliminary vital statistics indicated that in 1976 the rate of divorce and the number of persons involved rose continually. The effects of new and revised divorce laws, the greater availability of free legal services, and the increasing social acceptability of divorce were the major contributing factors. These factors, coupled with the dramatic

increase in the numbers of women in the work force, have caused great interest in the labor force activity of divorced women.

Separated women have increased in number much more slowly than divorced women and the proportion of separated women in the population and labor force has not changed. More than twice as many Black as white women in 1975 were separated or divorced (19.9 compared with 7.4 percent). Whites were more likely to be separated. Grossman (1977) posits that more than one-third of all separated women in 1975 were Black.

In 1975, mothers who had the highest labor force participation rate were mothers whose youngest child was of school age, or between the ages of 6 to 17 years. Eighty (80) percent of these women were in the work force compared with 66 percent of divorcees with preschoolers. Separated women with children were also as likely as those without them to be in the labor force, however, the ages of their children affected their participation rates. Six of 10 separated mothers with school age children (6 to 17 years) were in the labor force compared with 5 of 10 whose children were below age 6.

Whether divorced, separated, or married, most employed women work full-time. Divorced women were more likely than married women to fall into this employment category. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (1977) reports that in 1975, 85 percent of employed divorced women and 79 percent of employed separated women worked full-time, and neither the presence nor the

age of children had any significant effect on these proportions. Contrastingly, 72 percent of employed married women were full-time workers, and proportionately more without children than those with them were working a full-time schedule.

The rate of unemployment for divorced women was lower than that for separated women, but approximately equal to that of married women in 1975. Slightly more than eight percent of divorced women were without jobs, compared to 15 percent of the separated women. The presence of children in the home was associated with the level of divorced women's unemployment rate; the younger the children, the higher the unemployment rate. In addition, separated women with children also had substantially higher rates of unemployment than those without them (18 compared with 10 percent). Separated mothers with preschool children, particularly under 3 years of age, were more apt to be jobless than those who had school-age children.

The number of divorced women heading families nearly tripled from 750,000 to 2.1 million between 1960 and 1975 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1977). Presently they account for 3 of 10 women who head families. The number of separated women heading families remains at slightly more than 2 out of 10. In 1975, more than 50 percent of all divorced and separated women of working age headed their own families, with proportionately more separated women heading families with children. A larger number

of separated women (9 percent) than divorced women (5 percent) were living with their children in households headed by a relative.

Divorced and married women had an average of 12.4 years of formal education in 1975. Contrastingly, less than half of the separated women had graduated from high school, who had a median of 11.9 years of formal education. This figure partially reflects the high proportion of less educated Black women in the group. This lack of adequate education to meet the requirements of employers possibly explains the smaller proportion of separated than divorced women in the labor force. Separated women in the labor force were somewhat better educated than those out of the job market.

The occupational status of employed divorced, separated, and married women reflects the racial composition and educational attainment levels of these women. For both divorced and married women, 65 percent were white collar workers, approximately 20 percent were service workers, and about 14 percent were blue-collar workers. A slightly larger proportion of married women were in the higher status professional-technical positions, while a greater share of divorced women were working in clerical jobs. Conversely, less than half of all separated women were white-collar workers; proportionately more (35 percent) of these women were service workers.

Black divorcees were more apt than white divorcees to be employed as service workers in 1975. White divorcees were more

likely to have white-collar positions. In the professional-technical occupations, far fewer Blacks were clerical workers. Among separated women, proportionately twice as many Blacks (52 percent) as whites (26 percent) were in service occupations. A much larger share of whites were white-collar workers, with most employed in clerical positions.

McEaddy (1976) found that women heading their own families are much younger today than in earlier periods. Their median age was dropped from 50.5 to 43.4 years since 1960. In 1975, 1 of every 10 female family head was under age 25, compared with 1 of every 25 in 1960. This age group typically experiences the greatest difficulty in the labor market, yet the unemployment rate of female family heads age 25 to 44 is also exceedingly high.

Black women accounted for a third of the overall increase in the number of female-family heads since 1960. They accounted for one-fifth of the increase in divorced female-heads of households. Black women accounted for four-fifths of the total growth of all single women heading families. In 1975, 1 out of every 5 Black female heads had never married, compared with 1 out of 10 in 1960. McEaddy (1976) asserts that this tremendous increase is explained by a relaxation in social attitudes regarding never-married women as mothers. Further, single women are allowed to adopt children in today's society. Black women heading families were more than twice as likely to be single as white women in 1975.

In 1975, one out of seven children under age 18 were in families without fathers, an increase from 1 out of 10 in 1970. More than 9 million children were members of such families and about one-fourth of them were under age 6. Approximately 54 percent of the 9 million children had working mothers in 1975. Black mothers heading families were twice as likely as white mothers to have three children or more--30 out of 100, compared with 15 out of 100. These Black mothers also had lower participation rates, higher unemployment rates, lower educational levels, and higher rates of poverty.

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (1976) reports that in 1974, the median income for all female family heads was $6,400, less than half that of husband-wife families--$13,800. Approximately 2.8 million female heads had a total family income of less than $5,000 and almost 3 out of 4 of these women had children in the home under 18 years of age. The labor force participation rate of these mothers was 41.8 percent. Their unemployment rate was 24.2 percent. 2.1 million women heading families had a total family income of $10,000 or more. Their labor force participation rate was 83.6 percent, their unemployment rate was 4.6 percent, and only 4 out of 10 of the women in this upper income bracket had children under 18 years of age.

The proportion of Black women heading families and earning less than $5,000 was larger than that for white women heading

families (6 out of 10 compared with 3 out of 10). However, for both races, labor force participation was highest and unemployment lowest for women in the upper income group.

The common characteristic of families headed by women is poverty (McEaddy, 1976). In 1974, the poverty cut-off for nonwhite four-person families headed by women was $5,014. For three-person families the poverty cut-off was $3,822 and $3,167 for a two-person family. Thus, 2.2 million families headed by women were living in poverty. Black families were more likely to be poor -- 1 out of every 2 were below the poverty level. The typical characterizations of these families included having a family head who did not graduate from high school, had little or no work experience during the previous year, or worked in a low paying occupational position. Many of these families had no earners.

In 1974, 9 out of 10 of the women living below the poverty level had children under 18 in the home. These children comprised more than 50 percent of all children in female-headed families compared with only 8 percent for male-headed families (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1976). For Blacks these proportions were 2 out of 3 for female heads and 1 out of 5 for male heads. Thus, children in families headed by women commonly grow up in environments affected by the physical problems which often result from the strains of the single parent having sole responsibility for their discipline, training, health, and guidance.

Focus of the Present Study

The decision to enter the labor force by most heads of households is based primarily upon the fact that money and/or gainful employment is necessary if one is to provide a family with life's essentials. The present study concerns itself with the impact of the labor system upon the single-parent family, more precisely, the effect of maternal employment upon the children in the home.

Working mothers are motivated by the need for money and Young (1973) contends that working women are frequently the sole support of their families. For the female-household head who chooses to work, the situation is more complex. If there are children under 18 in the home, consideration must be given to the supplemental forms of child-care and the impact of this supplemental care on the child.

This study examined type of single parent family in relation to:

1) employment/unemployment
2) knowledge and availability of supplemental child care
3) community involvement
4) absent-spouse status
5) effects of maternal employment on child.

Sample Characteristics by Employment

The 1974 unemployment rate was 10 and 5 percent, for Blacks and whites, respectively. In comparison, this figures to two

Blacks unemployed for every white. The labor status of respondents in the present study (N=150) varied according to the type of separation they experienced. Seventy-three percent of divorced samples had a paid job consistently over the duration of the project. Over 50 percent of all other marital separation groups, with the exception of separated mothers (41%) had and maintained jobs throughout the project, even through the 1974-75 recession. Significant numbers of each group categorized themselves as either self-employed or salaried. Over three-fourths of all groups with the exception of widows (65%) and incarcerated spouse (data not available) groups were salaried. This statistic peaked to 93% for the small number of male-head of households sampled.

Supplemental Care: Knowledge and Availability

Day Care

When the question of the availability of child care or family care center was posed, 59% of the 73 separated family heads stated that such facilities existed in their neighborhoods. Eleven percent said that the facilities were in that section (i.e. quadrant) of the city, and 8% noted that the facilities were not available. These differences were significant when applied to a chi-square analysis (x^2 = 25.47, 12df, p/ .05). For the same question, over 65 and 68% of the mothers who were employed and unemployed respectively, were aware of a nearby location of adequate day-care facilities. Thus, whether a mother works or not, she seems to be knowledgeable concerning the location of nearby

day-care facilities for her child, if the need arises. A majority of the females in the present study who experienced single-parenthood as a result of widowhood (N=18) also stated that day-care facilities existed in their neighborhood (78%). When the same data was reanalyzed according to the status of maternal employment, 85% and 75% of working and non-working mothers respectively, stated that there were day-care facilities in their neighborhood. These differences were also significant when applied to a chi-square analysis.

The divorced sample (N=30) evidenced similar knowledge concerning day-care facilities. Sixty-five percent of the total divorced group stated that the facilities were in the neighborhood as compared with 15% in the section and 8% not available.

Of particular interest is the fact that all of the divorced respondents who stated that day-care facilities were not available were working mothers. The greater assumed need for day-care for children of working mothers seems to necessitate knowing where options for care do or do not exist. The data on "divorced day-care notions" was significant through a chi-square analysis (x^2 =41.65, 12df, p/ .001).

Summer Day Camp

The advantages inherent in summer day camp offer a youth the opportunity to learn more about nature and basic survival skills. Almost one quarter of our separated mothers (N=72) did not know where these day-camp facilities existed in their neighborhood, and 28% felt that their services were not available.

Twenty-eight percent stated that these day-camp services were in the neighborhood, with 15 and 26 percent in the section and not available, respectively. When the divorced sample was split into working and non-working mothers, 71% of those who didn't know about the day camp were of the former group. The chi-square significance value (x^2 =31.31, 12df, p/ .05) suggests that the female heads utilization of summer camp facilities is limited for all groups, except divorced. It is generally assumed that divorced women tend to have greater access to economic resources than other "maritally disrupted women", with the possible exception of widows.

Data on women whose spouses were incarcerated (N=48) indicated that over 30% did not know where summer day camp facilities exist for their child. Another 30% of the sample stated that these services are not available to them. Thus, spouses of incarcerated men do not avail themselves of summer day camp facilities. These results are substantiated by significant chi-square analyses (x^2= 15.58, 8df, p/ .05). More working women of incarcerated spouses did not know the location of summer day camp services than the non-working group.

After-Hour School Programs

Supplemented opportunities for a child's learning and caretaking offer parents some help in the socialization process. After-hour school programs, if available, can serve as an "extended baby-sitter" until the parent gets off from work. Most

of the respondents in the present study were able to identify and locate neighborhood after-hour school programs. The strength of this identification process varied, however, as a result of the type of marital separation one experienced.

Of the separated mothers responding, some suggested that the programs were in the neighborhood (37.5%), section (13.9%) or just not available (11.1%). More non-working separated mothers did not know where these programs could be found. It is assumed that this group would have a lesser need for these services than the working groups. Conversely, more of the separated working than non-working mothers' were aware that no accessible after-hour school programs were available. These differences were significant (x^2=27.38, 12df, p/__.01), and indicate the parent's concern with the child's supervision and welfare.

Widowed mothers' responses followed a similar pattern, though none stated they did not know the location of after-hour school programs. Fifty-six percent of the widows worked (N=16). What is distinctive about this data, however is that the responses of working and non-working widows are closely matched. Over 60% of these mothers located neighborhood after-hour facilities with 12.5% and 18.8% in the section or not available respectively.

A departure from the trend of responses to this question arises for women whose spouses were incarcerated. Over forty-five percent of the total sample (N=48) stated that after-hour school programs were not available for their children. All of

the respondents who did not know where these facilities were located happen to be working mothers. More working mothers than non-working ones said that these services were not available (i.e. 59.3% v. 35%). A "response reversal" occurs for those services in the neighborhood with 22.2% and 52.9% of the working and non-working mothers, respectively. Thus, in the present study, working women with incarcerated spouses seem less knowledgeable about after-hour school programs for their children than other comparable father-absent groups. Data from other portions of the present study support this general notion and suggest greater and more negative effects of father-absence for spouses of incarcerated men. The chi-square analysis reveals significant effects for the incarcerated group's knowledge of after-school services (x^2=23.26, 8df, p/ .01).

The elegance of the present design lies in its longitudinal approach to observe enduring effects of maternal employment from family socialization patterns. Significant chi-square analyses were found for spouses of incarcerated males on their knowledge of after-hour school programs (x^2=57.25, 20df, p/ .001). Fifty-five percent of this group located these agencies in their neighborhood, 9% in other sections and 23% said they were not available. These effects were consistent across six repeated samples, which indicates either a need or utilization of after-hour school programs by working women with incarcerated spouses. Comparison of these data for "incarcerated" non-working mothers did not produce significant results.

Thus, having an incarcerated spouse may create a greater awareness over time of outside resources that are available to alleviate the separation condition. None of the data on other types of separation groups (i.e., widows, divorced, separated) produced significant effects on this variable.

Community Involvement

Though a majority of all the groups agreed with the statement, "Every person should be willing to give up his time whenever his group or community needs him", significant differences were obtained for the separated group only (x^2=10.00, 3df. p/__.05). Ninety percent of this group agreed, with 10% undecided. When compared with other groups, this willingness to volunteer may result in creating a more interdependent, "assistance oriented" individual. Consistent with these results is the significant effect obtained for the separated group on the question "If someone lets a group of his/her friends down, the group is responsible for it (x^2=47.41, 25df, p/__.01). Sixty-four percent of this group strongly disagreed with this statement, thus supporting the more "assistance oriented" theory for separated groups. In response to the question, "If because of your ability you do more for your community (neighborhood), you should receive credit for it". Over seventy percent of the working separated sample strongly disagreed with this notion (x^2=58.2, 30df, p/__.01). This effect was not consistent over time for non-working separated mothers and all other separated mothers and all other separated groups except

widows. Non-working widows in the present study (N=4) agreed with working separated women on this question. Sixty-eight percent of the sample strongly disagreed with the stated notion (x^2=26.96, 15df, p/ .05). The separated sample consistently evidenced a need to affiliate, that was not as pronounced for other groups. The financial situation of most of the separated women in our sample was significantly lower than other groups. This lack of financial resources may necessitate a more external, "other oriented" group. Social policies affecting income modification need to focus on the disparate financial and psychic needs of legally and non-legally separated female-headed families.

Absent-Spouse Status

When the status of work (i.e., working or non-working) was compared to the respondent's knowledge of the absent spouse's work behaviors, the separated women had more complete knowledge than the divorced group. On the first sample, forty-four percent of this sample stated that the absent spouse was indeed working, with 33% not knowing. These results were significant when applied to a chi-square analysis (x^2=28.14, 15df, p/ .05), and similar significant effects (x^2=9.88. 3df, p/ .05) were obtained for the same group on a subsequent administration (fourth) of the research instrument. Of those respondents in the separated group who stated that their absent spouses were working, 41.8% and 2.5% reported his work as full-time and part-time respectively. The chi-square

analysis (x^2=20.99, 12df, p/__.05) also reveals that 29% of the sample (N=79) did not know the term of the absent parent's work. Most of the spouses of the separated group were salaried (54.6%) with 32.1% not knowing (x^2=26.18, 12df, p/__.01). Of interest to note, 43.5% of the widowed group stated that their deceased spouses were skilled workers.

Results from the separated group suggest that 47% of the former spouses were unskilled and 47% semi-skilled. This significant effect (x^2=27.03, 9df, p/__.05) reveals consistent differences over time.

Effects of Maternal Employment on Child

Separate ANOVA's were run on all the dependent measures collected on the child. These measures were the following: Piers-Harris, Crandall's IAR (modified version), Gough's scale of sex difference, Coopersmith's self-concept scale (modified version), reading and mathematics scores on the Wide-Range Achievement Test and a measure of racial self-concept developed by the present investigators.

Significant differences were found between the Piers-Harris measure and the employment status of the female-head of household. When second order analyses were run, numerous relationships of empirical interest highlight the importance of focusing social policy on the needs of the female heads of households. The present study also revealed more pronounced effects of single-parenthood on the children involved. There were decrements or increments in

measures of the child's psychological well-being and social development. The above measures with the exception of WRAT were employed in the present study to assess the relationship between maternal employment, types of single-parenthood and the child's socialization patterns.

The six repeated measures aspects of the design revealed significant differences with a decrease in self-concept across all groups over time ($F=4.15$, 5df, $p < .001$). Thus, the separation condition had a negative effect on all children as a function of time (average N=134).

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